Minnesota Historical Society
MAIN
FOLIO F613 M68 C4 A74
The curling waters : a West Bank history /
60614-10

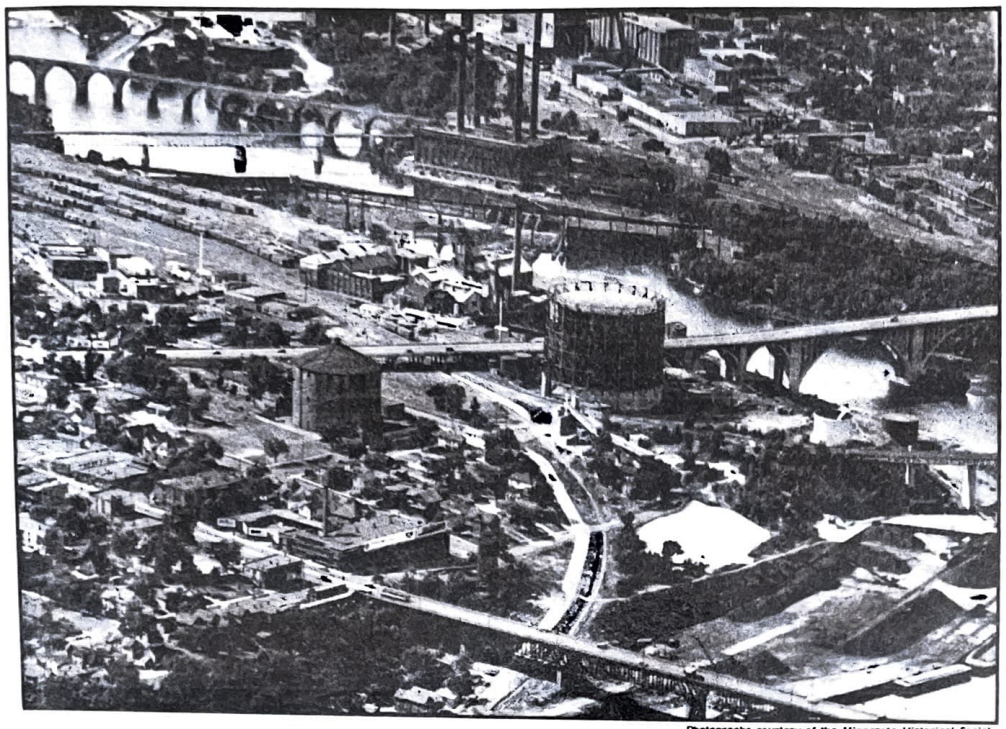
Armitage

The curling waters:
a West Bank history

COMPLEMENT

Coordinator: Monica Bay Assistant: Jose Barreiro

c1973



Photographs courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society

The Curling Waters: A West Bank history

Copyright 1973
by Dan Armitage and the
West Bank Historical Collective

The Old And The New

That the old is new and the new is old
The centuries but repeat the nation's rise
But to sink and fall in a ruin so complete
Yet in runic rhyme
Of the olden time
Their bards sang songs as meet
Of their golden days
As ours in praise
Of the days we hope to greet.
The song we sing on this beautiful day
For the seniors of '86
Is the song of the old, the song of the new
More dear because we may mix
With our written history
The unwritten mystery
Of the future we dream to be.

—Graduation day poem of the University of Minnesota
June 2, 1886
written and recited by Maude J. Lyati

European Footholds

In 1766, as the explorer Jonathan Carver ended his long journey on the northern Mississippi, he camped at St. Anthony Falls, almost at the center of what would become a platted and paved metropolis. He was so impressed with the area that he crossed the river before returning downstream to the eastern colonies and the New World roots of European civilization.

To the Indian residents of Minneapolis he was a curiosity, cloaked in strange dress and speech, and yet stranger habits. He learned little from these residents, gathering his information instead from experience and observation. He discovered a cave below the falls which has since been destroyed or covered over, possibly in the vicinity of the present West River Road; he took copious notes.

Carver's description of the West Bank of the Mississippi, probably the first written record of the area, contains more superlatives than accountable information, but in it he conveys the spirit of the land. He wrote, "The country around (St. Anthony Falls) is extremely beautiful. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at a distance of 4 miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view, I believe, cannot be found throughout the Universe."

Carver was not to be the last writer to note a singular beauty in the area. A century later, the traveler George T. Barret described the township which had sprouted there in a letter to British friends.

"Along the edge of the cliff, I sat until the sun went down. It was one of the prettiest scenes I have met with on this continent. The river ran beneath at the bottom of a narrow gorge, its banks wooded to the water's edge, and dotted with an occasional house that peeped forth from the dense, dark foliage."

It was Father Louis Hennepin, in his penetration of the Northwest Territory, who first measured and charted the falls. He re-named them St. Anthony Falls for St. Anthony of Padua, his patron. Prior to his arrival, they had been called The Curling Waters—a place of prayer, which the residents believed to be inhabited by agents of the Great Mystery. The vicinity of the falls was excluded from normal hunting, but fish were taken in great numbers from the river below.

The period following Father Hennepin's foray in the wilderness was a period of conquest and expansion. (Colonel Zebulon Pike, during his military exploration of the Northwest, purchased the area from the Indians on behalf of the U.S. government.) Fort Snelling was established at its present site, above the easily defensible juncture of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. Near it Ewing's Trading Post was erected. A military reservation was established on the West Bank of the Mississippi, and civilian settlement was prohibited. That is not to suggest that settlement did not occur.

The first group to breach the military prohibition were refugees from the impoverished Selkirk Colony who arrived at the fort in 1826. These Dutch tillers remained on reservation for nearly 10 years, re-establishing a model of the Selkirk farm community until orders from the military hierarchy brought about their forcible eviction. The colony further splintered as individual families made homes further east in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In the wake of the Selkirk community, squatters (people who have no legal title the land they inhabit) were to be an important factor in the political makeup of the West Bank.

In 1849, the Territorial Congress allowed two veterans of the Mexican-American War to make their homes inside the reservation boundaries. Robert Smith of Illinois set his house in view of Minnehaha Falls; Colonel John H. Stevens selected a lot near Nicollet Island, across the river from the burgeoning township of St. Anthony.

Other pioneers crossed the river with them, building log and plank homes at intervals along the forested bluffs. These new squatters were more tenacious than their predecessors, and in 1854, the reservation was opened, reluctantly, to general settlement. The 200 squatters who had put down roots on the West Bank were allowed to purchase the soil that surrounded them for $1.25 per acre. By the year's end, their number had reached 1,000, and still lacking a township, they celebrated the legitimacy of their land by electing a mayor to their community. Of the town's patriotic population, 75 turned out for the vote.

The Fort Snelling reservation became Minneapolis, a name suggested by pioneer Charles Haeg. The West Bank was known as Ed Murphy's farm, and in 1855 bore its first authorized houses.

Such a dynamic change must have been somewhat of a blow to Col. Stevens, who had situated himself to watch the machinations of civilization from a comfortable, easily traversible distance. A few years after he had built his house the citizens of the new town built Minneapolis' extravagant Suspension Bridge, its mouth nearly at the Colonel's door. In this period of great initiations, it might be called Minneapolis' first case of urban renewal.

New Scandinavia

The pattern of immigrant settlement in the young city was opposite to that in the older and large urban centers in the East. Newcomers, instead of seeking shelter in decaying ghettos in the center of town, here found cheap, vacant plots at the city's fringe, and built or contracted for inexpensive private homes. Many, at first, kept lots large enough for livestock and gardening.

By 1858 virtually all of the neighborhood west of Cedar had been laid in streets and lots. Murphy's farm had been platted as Murphy's Subdivision, except for a one-block rectangle which he had donated to the city in 1857 as its first park: Murphy Square.

Until 1873 there was nothing to distinguish the city's park from the cow pasture which surrounded it. Finally, Murphy inveighed upon the city council to erect a fence and a row of trees along its borders. The council agreed to the plan, and put Murphy in charge of the construction, with a council appropriation of $500. When Murphy had finished the improvement of his little park, the mayor refused to sign the warrant for appropriations, and Murphy was never reimbursed.

Most Minneapolis newcomers were foreign-born. One Minnesota governor had sent agents to Germany and the Scandinavian countries offering farmland to immigrants at unusually low prices. The first adventurers had already arrived. The first Norwegians in the New World came in June of 1825 on the sloop Restaurationen. Some of these, oppressed by the secondary role played by foreign-born citizens of the Eastern cities, and spurred by the resolutions which had carried them across the Atlantic, moved inland beyond the settled territories.

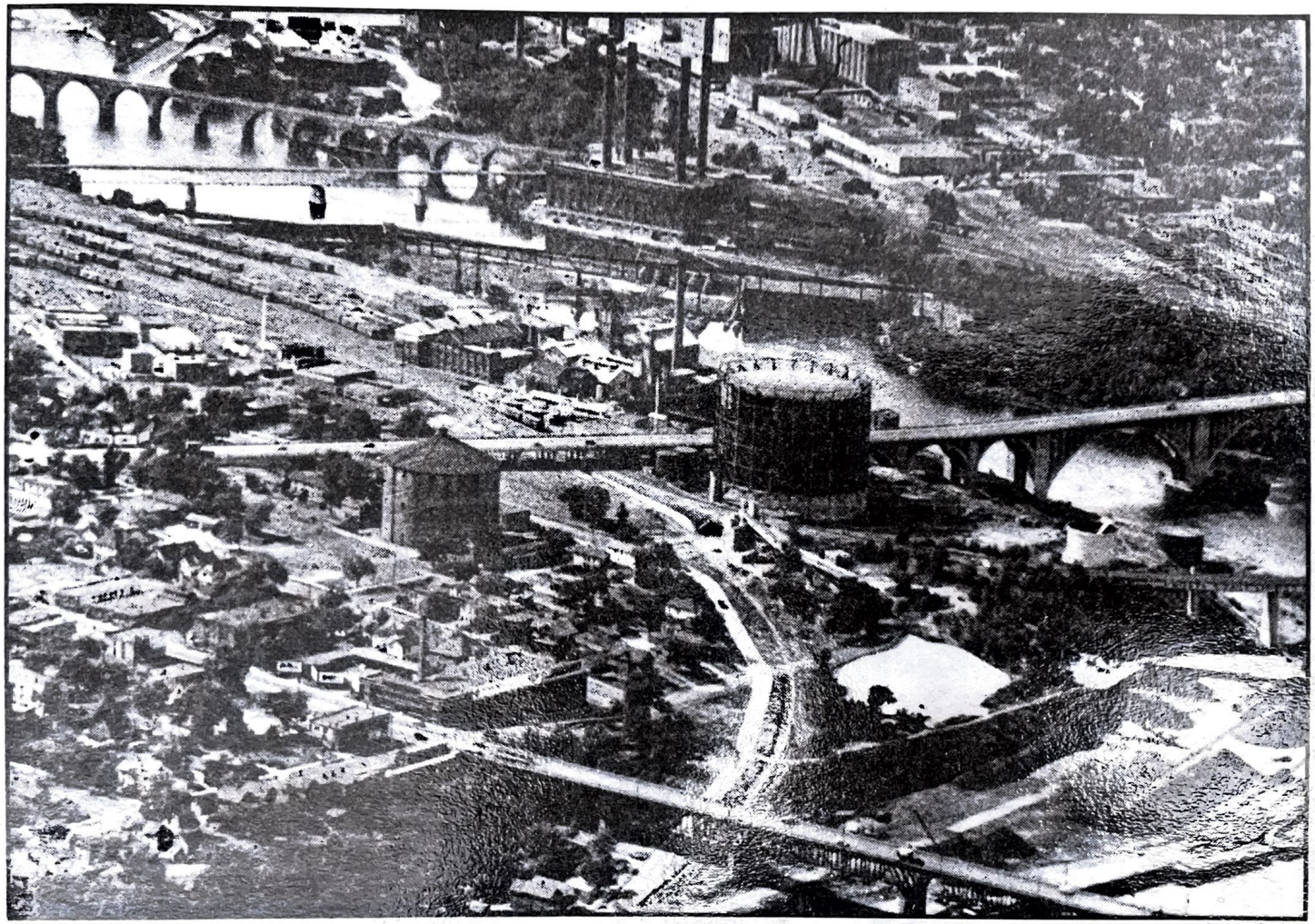
The bulk of early immigration came in the 1860s and '70s. By 1880, 267,000 of the state's 781,000 inhabitants were foreign-born; most of these were from Germany and Scandinavia.

In Hennepin County, the emigrants of these countries accounted for more than half the population.

Few arrived with enough money to purchase the farmlands they had been promised. Funds dwindled during travel, in customs, and during confused stays in the seaport cities; and the influx of Minnesota immigrants sought refuge in its cities. In Minneapolis, as elsewhere, neighborhood communities sprang up among common

West Bank to 16

COMPLEMENT
Coordinator: Monica Bay Assistant: Jose Barreiro
c1973



Photographs courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society

The Curling Waters: A West Bank history

Copyright 1973
by Dan Armitage and the
West Bank Historical Collective

record of the area, contains more superlatives than accountable information, but in it he conveys the spirit of the land. He

splintered as individual families made homes further east in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In the wake of the Selkirk community, squatters (people who have no

found cheap, vacant plots at the city's fringe, and built or contracted for inexpensive private homes. Many, at first, kept lots large enough for livestock and gar-

Photographs courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society

The Curling Waters: A West Bank history

Copyright 1973
by Dan Armitage and the
West Bank Historical Collective

The Old And The New

That the old is new and the new is old
The centuries but repeat the nation's rise
But to sink and fall in a ruin so complete
Yet in runic rhyme
Of the olden time
Their bards sang songs as meet
Of their golden days
As ours in praise
Of the days we hope to greet.
The song we sing on this beautiful day
For the seniors of '86
Is the song of the old, the song of the new
More dear because we may mix
With our written history
The unwritten mystery
Of the future we dream to be.

—Graduation day poem of the University of Minnesota
June 2, 1886
written and recited by Maude J. Lyati

European Footholds

In 1766, as the explorer Jonathan Carver ended his long journey on the northern Mississippi, he camped at St. Anthony Falls, almost at the center of what would become a platted and paved metropolis. He was so impressed with the area that he crossed the river before returning downstream to the eastern colonies and the New World roots of European civilization.

To the Indian residents of Minneapolis he was a curiosity, cloaked in strange dress and speech, and yet stranger habits. He learned little from these residents, gathering his information instead from experience and observation. He discovered a cave below the falls which has since been destroyed or covered over, possibly in the vicinity of the present West River Road; he took copious notes.

Carver's description of the West Bank of the Mississippi, probably the first written record of the area, contains more superlatives than accountable information, but in it he conveys the spirit of the land. He wrote, **"The country around (St. Anthony Falls) is extremely beautiful. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at a distance of 4 miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view, I believe, cannot be found throughout the Universe."**

Carver was not to be the last writer to note a singular beauty in the area. A century later, the traveler George T. Barret described the township which had sprouted there in a letter to British friends.

"Along the edge of the cliff, I sat until the sun went down. It was one of the prettiest scenes I have met with on this continent. The river ran beneath at the bottom of a narrow gorge, its banks wooded to the water's edge, and dotted with an occasional house that peeped forth from the dense, dark foliage."

It was Father Louis Hennepin, in his penetration of the Northwest Territory, who first measured and charted the falls. He re-named them St. Anthony Falls for St. Anthony of Padua, his patron. Prior to his arrival, they had been called The Curling Waters—a place of prayer, which the residents believed to be inhabited by agents of the Great Mystery. The vicinity of the falls was excluded from normal hunting, but fish were taken in great numbers from the river below.

The period following Father Hennepin's foray in the wilderness was a period of conquest and expansion. (Colonel Zebulon Pike, during his military exploration of the Northwest, purchased the area from the Indians on behalf of the U.S. government.) Fort Snelling was established at its present site, above the easily defensible juncture of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. Near it Ewing's Trading Post was erected. A military reservation was established on the West Bank of the Mississippi, and civilian settlement was prohibited. That is not to suggest that settlement did not occur.

The first group to breach the military prohibition were refugees from the impoverished Selkirk Colony who arrived at the fort in 1826. These Dutch tillers remained on reservation for nearly 10 years, re-establishing a model of the Selkirk farm community, until orders from the military hierarchy brought about their forcible eviction. The colony further splintered as individual families made homes further east in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In the wake of the Selkirk community, squatters (people who have no legal title the land they inhabit) were to be an important factor in the political makeup of the West Bank.

In 1849, the Territorial Congress allowed two veterans of the Mexican-American War to make their homes inside the reservation boundaries. Robert Smith of Illinois set his house in view of Minnehaha Falls; Colonel John H. Stevens selected a lot near Nicollet Island, across the river from the burgeoning township of St. Anthony.

Other pioneers crossed the river with them, building log and plank homes at intervals along the forested bluffs. These new squatters were more tenacious than their predecessors, and in 1854, the reservation was opened, reluctantly, to general settlement. The 200 squatters who had put down roots on the West Bank were allowed to purchase the soil that surrounded them for $1.25 per acre. By the year's end, their number had reached 1,000, and still lacking a township, they celebrated the legitimacy of their land by electing a mayor to their community. Of the town's patriotic population, 75 turned out for the vote.

The Fort Snelling reservation became Minneapolis, a name suggested by pioneer Charles Haeg. The West Bank was known as Ed Murphy's farm, and in 1855 bore its first authorized houses.

Such a dynamic change must have been somewhat of a blow to Col. Stevens, who had situated himself to watch the machinations of civilization from a comfortable, easily traversible distance. A few years after he had built his house the citizens of the new town built Minneapolis' extravagant Suspension Bridge, its mouth nearly at the Colonel's door. In this period of great initiations, it might be called Minneapolis' first case of urban renewal.

New Scandinavia

The pattern of immigrant settlement in the young city was opposite to that in the older and large urban centers in the East. Newcomers, instead of seeking shelter in decaying ghettos in the center of town, here found cheap, vacant plots at the city's fringe, and built or contracted for inexpensive private homes. Many, at first, kept lots large enough for livestock and gardening.

By 1858 virtually all of the neighborhood west of Cedar had been laid in streets and lots. Murphy's farm had been platted as Murphy's Subdivision, except for a one-block rectangle which he had donated to the city in 1857 as its first park: Murphy Square.

Until 1873 there was nothing to distinguish the city's park from the cow pasture which surrounded it. Finally, Murphy inveighed upon the city council to erect a fence and a row of trees along its borders. The council agreed to the plan, and put Murphy in charge of the construction, with a council appropriation of $500. When Murphy had finished the improvement of his little park, the mayor refused to sign the warrant for appropriations, and Murphy was never reimbursed.

Most Minneapolis newcomers were foreign-born. One Minnesota governor had sent agents to Germany and the Scandinavian countries offering farmland to immigrants at unusually low prices. The first adventurers had already arrived. The first Norwegians in the New World came in June of 1825 on the sloop **Restaurationen.** Some of these, oppressed by the secondary role played by foreign-born citizens of the Eastern cities, and spurred by the resolutions which had carried them across the Atlantic, moved inland beyond the settled territories.

The bulk of early immigration came in the 1860s and '70s. By 1880, 267,000 of the state's 781,000 inhabitants were foreign-born; most of these were from Germany and Scandinavia.

In Hennepin County, the emigrants of these countries accounted for more than half the population.

Few arrived with enough money to purchase the farmlands they had been promised. Funds dwindled during travel, in customs, and during confused stays in the seaport cities; and the influx of Minnesota immigrants sought refuge in its cities. In Minneapolis, as elsewhere, neighborhood communities sprang up among common

West Bank to 16

linguistic and national groups. On the South Side, the Germans made their foothold, on the North, free Africans. The Norwegians, Swedes and Danes lived by the river.

They built their homes on plots that were apparent abstractions; the streets and sewers of the city followed them to their gates. They were laborers, first at the sawmills, then at the flour mills, as each industry in turn held forth as Minneapolis' major economic base.

The sawmills were the city's earliest industrial center. The milling industry began with Franklin Steele & Company, on the Eastern shore of the Mississippi. Other mills were opened on the West Bank—seventeen by 1884. Most of the area between Washington Avenue and the river was used for lumbering. In her volume of memoirs, **Early Minneapolis**, Mary Thayer Hale recalls, "**...Whole blocks might be filled with high piles of boards and other lumber, and heavy lumber carts went about the streets. One of the by-products was much mill wood that was extensively used for fuel. It was also a boon for children; they could make the most wonderful play houses from it, large enough for themselves to play in, and one saw them all over the city.**"

Flour mills planted themselves near the falls, competing with the lumber industry for water and human power. The earliest flouring operation was built for Fort Snelling, and run by the soldiers there. Commercial mills began to appear in the 1850s; one of the first was Pillsbury's expansive "A" mill, on the river's eastern shore. A "B" mill followed, on the West Bank, and other mills, owned by other, lesser entrepreneurs.

At first Minnesota milling was a dubious enterprise. Mary Hale notes that the first spring wheat processed in Minneapolis was of poor quality. Residents continued to have flour shipped from southern cities such as St. Louis. Gradually, the Pillsbury mills and C.C. Washburn's own "A" mill, erected in 1873-74, were installed with "patent" equipment imported, like the millers, from Europe.

Washburn's mills (a "B" and "C" mill were set in operation in 1877 and 1878) were equipped with patent process from the start. Washburn attempted to improve the quality of spring wheat by changing its natural, dark color. At first, the mills turned out an abundance of light, unpalatable flour; but further experimentation produced a better grade.

Washburn himself seldom visited the mill; his offices were in the business district, where he arranged shipping of wheat and meal and indulged in land speculation on the edges of the city. Washburn acquired a large area along the western river shore which remained the last stronghold of Minneapolis squatters. It was given the name "Danish Flats," because incoming Danes camped there in the 1860s until houses were available on the bluffs above. Later the flats were named "Connemara Patch" for a settlement of Connemara Irish who inhabited an area below the bend in the river. Its most enduring name was to be the Bohemian Flats.

In later years, Washburn's enterprises grew more diverse as the Washburn Crosby Co. (W.C.Co.) entered the areas of radio, newspapers and television. There was little evil broadcast about the Washburn family in Minneapolis, or about the re-named General Mills.

In the 1870s wheat milling supplanted lumber milling as the mainstay of Minneapolis economy. Though flouring was more tedious, and employed fewer workers, the mills offered a generous $2 for a ten-hour day, compared to the lumberman's wage of $1.50.

Other industries grew up above the river. When the Milwaukee Railroad completed the terminal line parallel to Riverside Avenue, in 1867, minor factories and foundries claimed the land at its edges. Foremost were the brewers and bottle works, then sash and door companies, awning companies, barrel makers and a host of small industries.

The laborers were Scandinavian men, some of whom spoke only a few phrases of English. They were confirmed pedestrians. Carl Peterson, in **My Minneapolis**, describes the weekday of the late 1800s:

"**A distinctive feature of morning and evening in those far off days was the dinner pail brigade. Most people did not have far to walk to get to their places of employment. Very little time was saved by taking the streetcar; besides walking was cheaper and considered healthy exercise. On all the going-to and coming-from work, hikers carried a tin dinner pail, except in those more genteel occupations like store clerks. The dinner pails were essentially for males. The females would have their lunch in a package. But they were much fewer....**"

The presence of a large labor market, and rows of nearby shops and saloons along Washington and Riverside Avenues, and along Cedar Avenue—then called Snoose Boulevard—solidified the Scandinavian community. The work of a laborer was no worse in America than it was in Europe, and for some the possibility of obtaining farm land lightened the burden of industrialization. The community was growing; some lots had been subdivided, and the lumber yards provided raw materials for back-lot houses that began to appear around Seven Corners.

In the midst of this expansion, at 7:10 on the evening of May 2, 1878, the shops and houses of the near South Side were shaken by what was called the worst industrial catastrophe in the city's history. The Washburn "A" mill on the West Bank exploded, and with it two other flour mills north of Washington Avenue. Eighteen laborers were killed in the explosion, four of them residents of the Scandinavian West Bank. The explosion occurred during the change of shifts, and a relatively small number of its workers perished; but the force of its concussion shattered windows along Washington Avenue from Nicollet to Riverside, and its sound carried as far as St. Paul. Witnesses claimed that the metal roof of the Washburn plant was raised to a height of 500 feet, and crumbled in the air. Before the shards of its girders had struck ground, two neighboring mills, the Humbolt and Diamond, exploded.

Debris was scattered for many blocks. A machine shop, the Milwaukee Railroad roundhouse and the sash, door and blind factory were destroyed by the concussion. Fires spread to other nearby buildings, and Minneapolis fire crews worked all night bringing the blaze under control.

The next few years were lean for some families of the Scandinavian West Bank. In the days following the explosion, there was a period of mourning on the boulevard. It seemed that everyone had known one of the four who had died, and certainly everyone knew several people who had worked at one of the mills and now had no job.

Minnesota histories describe the expressly "valiant" efforts of the Washburn family to rebuild in the face of tremendous losses. The effort of the community to avert the hardship which followed was no less valiant, though largely unrecorded. While Washburn drew his resources from banks, the community drew from itself. Neighbors found places for the jobless in the lumber yards, factories and mills. The dependents of the four who had died were cared for by friends in the West Bank.

Nobody knew the cause of the Washburn explosion. C.C. Washburn hired scientists and milling experts, but their conclusions were as widely varied as the speculation on the Boulevard; theories ran the gamut from sabotage to volatile flour dust. The fourteen men who had been in the Washburn Mill at the time of its explosion had all died; some of their bodies were never located. The experts formed a consensus around the flour dust theory, and the Minnesota legislature added new provisions to the milling laws, requiring ventilation of mill buildings.

The least respected theory to come forth was that of R.J. Taylor, MD of Galesburg, Ill. Doctor Taylor came to Minneapolis unbidden to study the explosion, and for several weeks carried on an exhaustive research around the ruins of the three mills. His discoveries were published in a pamphlet.

The air in the Washburn plant, Taylor concludes, was somehow formed into nitroglycerin in "pulverized solution," which ignited what was the equivalent of 758,075 pounds of gunpowder. The ignition occurred by "the lighting of a match, a lighted cigar or pipe, the crack of a whip, the stroke of a hammer on a nail...or by friction passing through the millstones."

Taylor calls himself a "professor of the science of imponderable bodies," and anticipates possible disagreement with his observations.

His pamphlet concludes, "The above principles and facts herein set forth are as true as Holy Writ, or the rising and setting of the sun...I have sometimes had the following inquiry made: 'Doctor, can you tell how to prevent these explosions?' My reply is 'Most certainly I can. If I know how to diagnose a disease, I surely know the remedy.' " These are his last words on the subject of mill disasters.

The Washburn Mill was rebuilt and expanded, though it was never again to match the production of Pillsbury's "A" mill, which by 1883 produced more than 5,000

Minnesota Daily

Photo by Steve Schluter

barrels of flour daily and ranked itself as the largest flour mill in the world. The wheat milled was Minnesotan—from the 2.3 million acres which had been planted in 1882, yielding a crop of 32.2 million bushels—39 bushels for every person in the state.

Minneapolis had established itself as a center of milling for the Northwest, and the Boulevard was the wellspring of its labor.

Washington, Riverside and Cedar were paved with red brick. (Some of the original paving remains of old Cedar Avenue between 8th Street and Franklin Avenue.) Horsecar lines were installed by 1876. Cars ran frequently on the arterial streets in the 1880s. On Riverside Avenue, a trolley passed every eight minutes until 12:30 a.m., going as far as Hennepin Avenue on Washington—the center of twon. Another car line followed Washington Avenue over the river after 1905, when the bridge was reinforced and the tracks laid.

The drivers sat in a windowed cab which in the winter was equipped with a small coal or oil stove. A grating at the rear of the cab furnished a small amount of heat to the car. Electric cars were installed in 1889. Gas streetlamps, which had come in '77, remained for some time after the electric cars began to run.

The first side streets were plank and cedar block; there were fewer carriage houses and fewer horses among these narrow boulevards. Instead, back lot houses proliferated. In 1885, there were 500 more houses in the sixth ward than in any other ward of Minneapolis. An average 8.94 people lived in each of them. The density of population was exceeded only by the fourth ward—downtown Minneapolis, with the city' largest hotels.

More permanent brick facades were raised on Cedar Avenue. Scandia Bank was built in the odd angle of Cedar and Riverside, the later site of Fourth Northwestern Bank. The bank president of Scandia was Reinert Sunde, an immigrant from Flekkefjord, Norway. A.C. Haugan was the teller. He had come to Minneapolis from Strinda, Norway in the 1860s; later he established a grocery on Washington Avenue near Seven Corners, and for 10 years served as the sixth ward alderman.

Scandia Bank did much to encourage Scandinavian business in the area; most of its accounts were with Scandinavians and Scandinavian-owned businesses.

In the bank's basement was the shop of S.E. Anderson, singer, dancer and barber, and across the hall, the police station and lockup.

Another lockup was built in 1884, on Third Street and Cedar. It was a tiny brick building, with cattle and dog pounds attached, but too small to serve as a police station. The Southside Station was completed in 1888 and Louis Ness was appointed captain of the new station by Mayor A.A. Ames. Ness had been a patrolman on the Boulevard for three years, and was known by the residents as "a good 'Tronder' " (comrade).

Captain Ness was caught in small town and returned to Norway to work as a farmer. After eleven years there, he came back to Minneapolis, where then Mayor James C. Haynes recalled Ness's friendship with the people of the sixth ward and restored his old post to him. Ness, however, had neglected to register with the American consul during his stay in the Old Country, and had lost his citizenship. Again he resigned and returned to Norway where, in 1915, he died on his farm near Levanger.

Another Norwegian held the post of Captain at the Southside Station: John Kvittum, an industrious policeman and a member of the Norwegian Rifle Society. Kvittum had walked a beat on Riverside Avenue, often passing by the rehearsals of local choral groups. It was his custom to stop and listen to the Nordmannes Sangforenning, and occasionally to fill in with the second basses on choruses of "Brudeferden i Hardangar." Kvittum died in Minneapolis in 1911, working the last years of his life as the jailer of the fourth ward's central lockup.

The West Bank hose house, Fire Station Five, was erected in 1887, and installed with steam heating. In October, the station received a second-class piston engine built by the Clapp & Jones Manufacturing Company. The engine was steam operated with a 32-inch boiler, and was drawn by four horses. The next spring a Babcock Aerial truck was added, drawn by another four horses, and carrying 284 feet of ladders. Fire hose was carried in these trucks, rather clumsily, until 1892, when a neighborhood carriage builder, H.W. Foote supplied the station with a four-wheeled wagon to carry its 1,000 feet of hose.

One of the first pump truck captains was John C. Sullivan, who came from the mills; the Hook and Ladder company was captained by William O'Neil. The station had a combined 21-man crew in 1894, among them former laborers, millers, painters, coopers, railroad workers, teamsters, a blacksmith, and a 25-year-old sailog, John Horner, who rode the tillerman's post on the hook and ladder truck.

The district fire chief was George E. Kehoe, whose home was near the Catholic Hospital. The Kehoe house was equipped with an alarm bell which woke the entire neighborhood whenever there was a fire. The residents would stumble drowsily to their front doors to watch the chief storm by in his red buggy and sturdy white American Trotter.

Dania Hall

In 1886, while the fire station and lockup were still in the planning stage, a group of 10 private citizens was contracting with Louis and Julie Meldal, pioneer ranchers, to purchase two lots on the corner of Fifth Street and Cedar, to house an immigration center for Danish-Americans. A conditional deed was written for the property in May, "given on the express condition that no part of the building standing upon said above described lots shall be leased or used for the sale of intoxicating liquors, so long as the same shall be held by the said 'Dania Hall Building Association.' "

The building was begun in the summer of that year. On Saturday, June 5, the cornerstone was laid in an elaborate ceremony, including a march from Cedar Avenue to the Union Depot and back again. June 5, 1886 was the 37th anniversary of Danish independence, voluntarily granted by Fredrick VII of Denmark in 1849.

The procession included almost all the area clubs: the Normanna Rifle Society, the Swedish Brothers, Scandinavian Turners, Society Norden, Society Dania, and that dormant threat, the Norwegian Abstinence Society. P. Clausen delivered an address in Danish; and a short speech was made by a member of the pre-existent Dania Society, which would be housed in the new building. The society had been organized on Nov. 10, 1875 as a "Danish library and benevolent association."

The fourth ward's Judge Rand delivered the principal speech of the day, calling for a unification of Scandinavian Americans. It was a sentiment often expressed on important Old Country holidays, and one which pointed up a subtle feeling of division among the national groups which shared the river's edge.

Judge Rand spoke in English, gesturing in earnest at the empty lots around him. "...it is the foundation of a building within whose walls the spirit of intelligence, unity, friendship and brotherly love will be taught, and I trust and sincerely hope not only among the Danish citizens of Minneapolis, and the Norwegians and Swedes as well. That you will yield to the silent and impressive desire which at this moment comes up from the hearts of these sons of Nora and Svea here assembled...and that you will not close the door of your hall against us, for we shall delight to meet with you, discuss and learn that our interests are mutual, that the social relations between Swedes and Danes in Minneapolis are so interwoven with one another that nature herself feels agrieved when we fail to work hand in hand....The object and motives for the erection of this building are such that it can meet no obstacle...

"Let this building rise, till it meets the sun in his coming, and let the earliest light of morning guild it and parting day love to linger at its summit."

The newspaper called it a moving speech. It was not without irony. Only a small number of Minnesota Danes had come to Minneapolis. The majority of Danes had established farms in Freeborne, Steele and Brown counties, where they opened a number of dairy co-operatives, the first co-operatives in Minnesota. Dania Hall was an incursion onto Snoose Boulevard. Not that anyone minded—why not work hand in hand? Cooperation made good sense to the immigrant laborers. Such a big building, the sun would set on its tower forever.

The hall was four stories in height, built of pressed brick and Ohio stone, with galvanized iron cornices. The basement was equipped with dining hall and kitchen, and office space. The first floor contained space for two stores, one fronting on Cedar and another smaller storefront, with an arched door and display window, facing Fifth Street. The entrance to Dania Hall was on Fifth Street, at the corner of the building. Between a pair of gas torches that

West Bank to 18

West Bank from 17

hung on their iron staffs by chains fastened to the stonework, wrought iron gates swung open to a wide staircase. On the second floor were the rooms of the Dania Society offices, the Society's reading and billiard rooms, a club room, and rental space. The hall was on the third and fourth floors, an open room 44 by 65 feet, with a wide curved gallery above containing 200 theater seats. The gallery surrounded the room on three sides, ending on the wings of a proscenium stage. The hall's main floor had an additional 600 seat capacity.

The Milwaukee Store opened in Dania Hall, then A. G. Krostad's dry goods store. In the basement, J. M. Jackson had a barber shop which was reached by a narrow stairway next to the building.

The Dania Hall Building Association dogged Louis Meldal to reform the deed, and Meldal succumbed. An amended deed was written in the fall of '86, allowing the sale of liquor in Dania Hall. Meldal, a staunch promoter of the Abstinence Society, signed the new deed from his farm at Christiana, Norway. He and Julie had moved back to the Old Country. Englestad's saloon opened in Dania, when Country. One year, the residents had a 17th of May celebration in Schaffer's garden, performing Petter og Inger.

The character of these students was reflected in Nils Vaag, the protagonist of Ole Rolvaag's The Boat of Longing. Vaag comes to Minneapolis, where he finds a room in the fictional Babel Hotel on Cedar Avenue. His disillusionment is revealed slowly, in long walks through town to Nicollet Avenue, the center of the city's prosperity. "...It was like a fairyland. In the windows were to be seen every curious and exquisite object that money could wish to buy...Still, it was not the window objects that he looked at most. No, it was the people. Well-dressed nearly all of them; and so beautiful of countenance that they could never have known adversity. Goodness and joy shone in their faces, as though sorrow did not exist in the world! It seemed to Nils that he also could catch their intoxication just by gliding into the stream. Could he, too, he often wondered, become like these—as good and as happy—could he be one of them?"

Nils finds his answer on returning to the Babel Hotel, whose residents, like himself, were forever separated from that world by language and economics. They were died in February 1937.

Besides the popular saloons and the less popular haunts of the cognoscenti, the avenues of the Scandinavian community were lined with locally-owned businesses, small and large. Feed stores, hardware stores, shoe stores and Eberhart Titterud's lone shoe repair; crockery, clothing, furniture, dry goods, the shops of bakers, tailors, photographers, barbers, doctors and attornies. Every newcomer bought his stove at H.A. Anderson's; the practice becoming so regular that H.A. was nicknamed Stove Anderson.

On the Scandia Bank block, between the Bank and Dania Hall, were the undertaking parlors of Elsington and Thompson. Elsington was in charge of funerals, and operated a livery stable nearby. He served a term on the city council in 1889.

The two largest commercial enterprises on the Boulevard stood opposite each other in the Scandia Bank block. They were the Edsten Building and Holtzerman's Chicago Store. The Edsten building housed Folkraabet and its printers, and Petersen & Enger, Undertakers, who survived as late as 1955 as the Enger Funeral Home. A. H. Edsten ran his own funeral parlor on Third Street and 12th Avenue, coupled with a furniture store. Rood and Erickson's clothiers and Hove, Wold & Co., a furniture dealer, had the storefronts of the Edsten Building, while Edsten and Foss real estate and insurance had offices above. Edsten was a builder and renter who participated little in the community. The storefronts saw transitory occupants, and eventually the building was turned into a movie theatre.

The largest of the Boulevard's businesses was the Holtzerman Chicago Store, built after 1886 by the bachelor brothers Jacob Daniel and Louis Holtzerman. Holtzerman's store occupied nearly half the 400 block, and stood three floors high. Holtzerman's became the largest department store outside the central business district. The store area was spread throughout the first and second floors and the basement. The Holtzermans stocked furniture, glass, crockery, dry goods, clothing, candies, millinery (which was handmade and embroidered by Ms. Pauline Fjelde in a manufacturing department on the third floor), toys antiques, corsets, cloaks and muslin underwear. The store eventually carried imported wines and foods, and became especially known for its stock of European toys and Christmas ornaments.

This stock of apparently exotic items was intended to serve a community whose life and culture were still strongly attached to Swedish, German, Bohemian and French-speaking clerks; the same information was given in advertisements in the local papers. The practices of carrying imported goods and hiring European-born store clerks were standard business procedure on the Boulevard. Most stores bore signs like that in the Holtzerman window, though few with as complete a list.

Holtzerman's notoriety grew, and the store began to cater to the city's elite. It's success expanded it: a garden store was opened on the corner of Sixth Street and Cedar, where later the Minnesota Green was to be planted. The outdoor store sold trees, shrubs, bulbs, seeds, tomato plants and a variety of house plants sequestered in a greenhouse in the center of the lot.

The storefront itself required a warehouse to serve it, and one was built further south on Cedar Avenue.

Jacob Holtzerman died at a comparatively young age. While aboard a ship bound for Italy, where he would purchase trade for the store, the younger brother suffered a ruptured appendix. There was no means of treatment on board. Following his brother's death, Louis gave up the high life. The Chicago Store was open until 11 p.m. and late-hour commuting was wearing on the elder Holtzerman. He attempted to simplify his affairs by moving closer to the store. For Louis this meant moving into the house. He found several available lots a few blocks from Seventh and Cedar (on the site of the present senior citizens' highrise) and had the house installed there. A black iron fence was erected at the edge of the estate, and a border of deciduous trees. The yard inside were spanned with gardens and pools; a fountain graced the front yard, and in back, a fish pond, where neighborhood children went swimming on summer nights, violating the gardener's stern prohibitions.

None of the other store owners ever approached the growth of trade which Holtzerman's store achieved, yet many were as fundamental to the life of the community as the Chicago store. Peterson's Drug Store on seven corners was such a store, and one door down, Samuelson's Confectionery. Peterson's began in the late 1800s, but quickly outgrew its two story building and erected the present three story structure filled with drugs, a variety of dry goods, and a soda fountain.

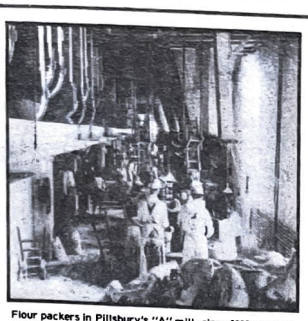
Next door, Charles Samuelson's storefront catered to a more select section of the neighborhood: the Swedish residents. Samuelson's changed little, though Charles entered a partnership with James McMackin in 1897, and enlarged enough to rebuild his shop in 1904. The shop windows remained littered with signs, and the storefront, in summer, decked with fresh fruits and vegetables and hanging bunches of bananas.

Samuelson's carried tobaccos, produce, milk products and "All Swedish Newspapers." The store was a branch office of the co-operative laundry, and advertised "Soda water in all flavors, including Chicago Mead" for five cents a glass. For the Scandinavians, there were both snus (snuff) and sil (herring)—commodities which were so common in the Cedar Avenue shops they lent the street its two nicknames "Snus Gatan" and "Sil Gatan" (herring street). For the health-minded, there were tins of Moxie nerve food.

The main streets were densely populated with small specialized shops, wall against wall. Some, like Egekvist Bakeries, one of the few Danish businesses on the Avenue, gained a foothold as Minneapolis industries. Most, in time, died out.

Between the main streets, the Scandinavian neighborhoods were thickly residential. There was always room for a garden, however, and a few chickens. Sundays were spent on the Boulevard or at the parks.

Francis Hill, Minneapolis miller, dresses a 32 inch French buhr millstone. Stone grinders were worn smooth in the machines and had to be frequently dressed.



Flour packers in Pillsbury's "A" mill, circa 1900. Ground and sifted flour reached the packing room through chutes (right) from the mills above.

The C.H. Smith Saw Mill, in Minneapolis

The South Side police station at Third St. and Cedar, 1936. A sign on the building reads "USA WORK PROGRAM: WPA."

Englestad broke off his partnership with A. B. "Flisa" Flisness in a saloon at 12th and Washington. Laura Englestad inherited the Dania saloon after her husband drowned in Lake Minnetonka. She let the bartender, a man named Orbeck, run it for her. Orbeck eventually bought the business.

Other Foundations

Bars sprang up everywhere. Cedar Avenue was just beyond the liquor patrol limits set by the city in 1887, and the street, in an otherwise dry section, became known for its saloons and entertainment. For many "A ga pa Cedar" (go down to Cedar) meant, simply , to tank up.

A. B. Flisness opened another bar in the Throbeck Building, on the east side of Third and Cedar. Far up on Franklin Avenue, near the railroad crossing, Ole Brown opened a saloon. Claus Wang owned two bars on Cedar; one was in the 500 block, and another was located further south. Privately, Wang was a total abstainer.

On the 400 block of Cedar, near the Scandia bank, a tidy beer parlor was kept by a small man named Ilstrup, who spent his afternoons at the bar or tables, fastidiously dressed, sporting a silk top hat.

Across from Flisness and the Throbeck Building, occupying a narrow triangle between Cedar and 16th Avenue was the Victoria Hotel and Saloon run by "Blaasaren" (The Blower) Wettergren, a bulky man with heavy black whiskers who acted as both owner and bouncer.

Hotels were another lucrative venture in these crest years of immigration. One of the earliest was the Nelson Hotel, later called the Tower, which was gutted by a 1951 fire that took four lives. The Norge came later, in the mid 1800 block of Fifth Street, across from Dania. The Norge was a men's rooming house, embellished by a small grape arbor at its rear. The building still stands, although nearby Holy Rosary church has been supplanted by an apartment house. The Norge is faded in age, its brick and stonework covered with layers of beige paint, its grape arbor destroyed by a poorly controlled automobile.

On Washington Avenue in the 1200 block was Henrik Wergeland, which flourished for a short time in the 1880s as a rooming house for young intellectuals. Its residents were mostly students at the University, then a brisk walk over the Washington Avenue Bridge. They were disenfranchised from the industrial life around them and often cultivated stubborn ties with the Old condemned to a sector of town bounded by noise, industry, and national separation.

Across the street from the Henrik Wergeland was The Scandinavian Coffee House, headed by Johannes Jensen Skordalsvold, a University student. The Coffee House provided a more sedate atmosphere than nearby bars for young intellectuals who were waiting for "something to turn up." Newspapers from Scandinavia and local Scandinavian weeklies littered the tables, and discussions carried into the night.

The Boulevard had several weeklies: the German Freie Presse; Budstikker; the Norwegian papers, Svenska, Folkets Tidning and Normanna, the latter published in the Throbeck Building; Unsi Kotimaa; the Temperance Review and Feltraabet, "A Norwegian Prohibition Paper," published by K.S. Holter Publishing Co., whose presses were across the hall from the Feltraabet editorial offices, both in the Edsten Building at 410 Cedar.

Other publishers and printers grew up near the Boulevard, among them the Augsburg Publishing Company, which moved into an office space on Riverside, behind the Scandia Bank when Augsburg's publishing operation outgrew the Augsburg Seminary facilities.

The Scandinavian intellectuals found additional conversation in the Norwegian YMCA at 19th and Riverside, and in various drugstores in the community.

Yangvar Laws' drugstore, at 20th and Riverside was a favorite place, or Karl Lyng's drugstore, in the Augsburg press building. Laws and his brother, whose doctor's office was above the pharmacy, were Norwegian immigrants. Yangvar had been a Bergenser; he was a natural actor who could recite at will.

The pharmacy's tables were covered with the customary papers from Norway and recent books by Ibsen, Bjornson, Lie and Kjelland. News was exchanged about the activities of Knut Hamsun, the Norwegian author and winner of the 1920 Nobel Prize. Hamsun stayed in Minneapolis during his travels in the United States; his suspicion of industrialism and his deep attachment to nature stimulated the imaginations of his young listeners. During his stay, Hamsun and Laws became close friends, and Hamsun's occasional letters were passed around enthusiastically.

Later, Laws moved his pharmacy to Fourth and Nicollet, and in late 1908 or 1909 to Appleton, Minn. Finally Laws and his pharmacy moved to California where the pharmacist-intellectual of the Boulevard

Parks

"I would have the city itself such a work of art as may be a fitting abode of a race of men and women whose lives are devoted to a nobler end than money getting, and whose efforts shall be inspired and sustained by the grandeur and beauty of the scenes in which their lives are passed.

"Nature offers such advantages as no other city could rival, and such as, if properly developed, would exhibit the highest attainment of art in appropriating the natural elements on which all art is founded. If we fail to secure these natural features and suffer them to be destroyed, no power on earth can restore them."

—W.H.S. Cleveland

The Minneapolis Park, organized in 1883, created what is now Riverside Park as one of its first acts. Referred to as the "Sixth Ward Park" by park commissioners and

Minnesota Daily

"South Park" by the Minneapolis Tribune, the park included more than 19 acres of land at the river's edge, much of it untouched. The design for the new park was submitted by landscape architect W.H.S. Cleveland, originally from Chicago. Cleveland is responsible for all the design and much of the early appropriation of the park commission. Though he was neither a politician nor a tycoon, his effect upon the development of Minneapolis embodied so much energy and vision that he might be called one of the city fathers. When he arrived in Minneapolis, the city was still incubating, its economic life still clustered around Hennepin and Nicollet Avenues. Cleveland loved the wild places that flourished along the margins of busy industrial and residential areas, and saw that they were threatened by urban growth. In his letters to the Park Commission, he repeatedly stressed the importance of this development, and in so doing became something of an inadvertent prophet. Of especial concern to him was the border of the Mississippi.

He wrote, "This is a work for all time, and the city of today will be thought of a century hence as we now think of the cabins of the early settlers which contained the germ of the future town.

"The growth of Minneapolis and St. Paul into one great metropolis is as certain as the existence of the vast wealth now lying latent in the regions beyond, awaiting the development which will be wrought by the peaceful host of emigrants who are daily pouring through your streets and marching onward to its conquest. No one can study the question and make himself familiar with these resources which are thus being opened without being impressed with his own inadequacy to grasp the conception it awakens in his mind.

"The stranger listens in amazement on being told that the mills of Minneapolis have a capacity of 25,000 barrels of flour per day....

"Look forward for a century, to the time when the city has a population of a million, and think what will be their wants. They will have wealth enough to purchase all that money can buy, but all that wealth cannot purchase a lost opportunity, or restore natural features of grandeur and beauty, which would then possess priceless value, and which you (the park commissioners) can preserve if you but say the word and save them from the destruction which certainly awaits them if you fail to utter it....

"On the western side (of the river), as I have said during the discussions at your meetings, I deem it of the greatest importance that the portion of the bank immediately south of the brewery, which still remains in its native condition, should be preserved from further encroachment....

"I have already expressed my opinion of the capability of these areas for the purposes of a park of a perfectly unique character, which would be...solely for the use of pedestrians. It is surely needless for me to enlarge upon the value in a sanitary light of such a means of thorough ventilation as would be afforded by this magnificent channel, through which the winds would come to the heart of the city, purified by their passage over a long stretch of living water, and through the foliage of miles of forest. But now let us consider the alternative if you fail to secure the blessings which are in your reach. You have faith, and so do I, that Minneapolis is destined to become a great metropolis. Do you not see that when that day comes, those level areas under the hills, if you fail to save them now, will just as certainly become a plague spot and breeding-place of moral and physical pestilence and disease?...Whatever it may cost, the purchase will be a cheap one for the city in comparison with that of abandoning the control of these shores....But if you will consider the injury to adjacent property if you allow them to lapse into the forlorn and wretched condition which they are sure to assume if you abandon them to private greed, I think you will concede that the claims of health and beauty are entirely in accord with those of mere pecuniary considerations."

Cleveland's design for Riverside Park varied little from its natural condition. "The naturally picturesque character of the river shores has already made them a favorite resort on account of the refreshing contrast afforded by their cooling shade and attractive scenery, to the monotony of the city streets. In the fact that this contrast must continue to increase, and the opportunity to escape to a scene of primeval beauty of nature become more highly prized as the city continues to absorb the adjacent fields, we have the key to the style of arrangement which should here be adopted. The primal object should be the preservation of the natural character, and to this end I have devoted my efforts in the design for the arrangement of the Sixth Ward Park.

"The native wood will require some thinning, but it should be touched with a reverent hand, and only such trees removed as are unsightly or diseased themselves, or the cause of injury to others. Seclusion should be secured by planting groups of trees and shrubbery, as I have indicated, along the boundaries where open fields lie next the streets, and I also advise the planting of shrubbery along the edges of the woods, the effect of which will be not only to add to their beauty as seen from without, but will render them much more attractive by the seclusion it will confer upon the interior.

"I have avoided purposely the introduction of numerous driveways, which would seriosly detract from the comfort of pedestrians by whom this park will always be largely sought. The single carriageway, which extends throughout its greatest length, afford opportunity for a pleasant drive and commands some of the most attractive view of the park, the river, and the opposite shore. The paths are few—the intention being that visitors should ramble at will in the woods and on the lawns."

The land was surveyed and platted in the autumn months of 1883 by F.H. Nutter, and an appropriation of $56,000 was set aside to acquire and improve the land. The park remained the refuge that Cleveland intended it to be for a dozen years. In the 1890s, playground equipment was installed, in response to letter by Warren H. Manning who noted the growing residential district adjoining the park. Much of the acreage was left in its natural state. In the 1894 annual report of the Park Commission, another improvement was noted: "A ladies' lavatory was erected in this park. The maintenance was kept as low as possible."

The park was allotted a police patrol in 1888; the lone officer George I. Kelly patrolled the lawns. He was a classic whistler and nightstick-swinger whose beat seldom amounted to more than separating teenagers from the shrubbery on summer nights.

Beginning in the 1890s, bands played at Riverside Park on Thursday evenings in late June and July. The N.E. Military band was one of the first, but south Minneapolis' First Regiment Band was hired repeatedly. Koehler's Band played a tour of the parks in 1915, and the First Regimenters returned the following year, stepping aside one Thursday in July for the Working Boys' Band.

Park space was turned over to private groups on summer afternoons. In 1910, Herbert Johnson requested permission to hold a Socialist Labor Picnic in the park, selling ice cream and soda water. The commission issued him a permit, but refused to let him sell ice cream.

There were floral displays, eventually, and more lawns were cleared and pathways added, and a wading pool in the 1930s. Though less secluded and more cultivated than its designer would have liked it, it still serves the residents as an escape from city monotony.

Other parks were instituted later. An unnamed park was set near Tenth Avenue a few blocks north of Washington. It was endowed with some playground equipment, but never supervised.

The Park Board began leasing land on Fifth Street and Fifteenth Avenue, and in 1941, acquired the property through purchase and donation for a new "Sixth Ward Playground." The 1¼ acre lot was graded and given a baseball field. Supervisors however, were hard to find. The World War had coralled the energies of the nation's young adults, and regular summer playground supervision didn't begin until 1948, when a number of University students volunteered their summer hours to the city's parks.

The Sixth Ward Playground was affected in other ways by war shortages; the skating rink which was put in each December, beginning in 1945, had no warming house, and the usual peacetime summer activities were supplanted in part by weekly scrap collection drives—one week rags were stockpiled, the next, phonograph records. These collections were carried out with some ingenuity: the Park Board one week, in 1943, announced "Gypsy Day" at the playgrounds. Certain children were chosen to read palms. The fee: one silk stocking for the war effort.

For the children, the array of sports and fantasies at the playground were more important than sending Jerry back to Berlin. The younger boys and girls meandered among the weekly netherworlds of "Gypsy," "Indian" and "Circus" days. The older kids concentrated on more agressive, competitive sports. The baseball field was fenced in 1946, and league teams proliferated.

In the spring, it was marble tournaments. An average 1,500 Minneapolis children took part in the annual contests, and nearly half of them were registered to compete.

Institutions

The Catholic Hospital stood next to Riverside Park. The hospital was run originally by the Sisters of Mercy, and later by the Sisters of St. Joseph, five of whom took over operation in 1887. The nuns selected the hospital's consultant staff, which at that time numbered ten doctors who brought convalescents to the hospital from the surrounding community.

In the 1890s the hospital was enlarged from 25 to 75 beds, and a school of nursing begun in 1900. Until that time, patient care was financed by church funds and the city's fund for the poor.

After 1900, Fairview hospital rose next to the Catholic Hospital to serve the Lutherans in the area, on whom the Sisters' medicine had less effect.

Both these institutions served the larger area of Minneapolis, and charged fees which were prohibitive to the poorer residents of the neighborhood.

In the first decade of the 20th century, the University of Minnesota acquired a 15,000 grant from the state legislature for the construction of an outpatient medical clinic. Land was secured near Seven Corners on Washington Avenue, and the University Free Dispensatory was erected and set in operation under the direction of the University Committee on Hospitals, and Dr. J. C. Litzenburg, the Dispensary's Chief of Staff.

For the University, the two-story stone building served as a training center for medical students, who assisted the many physicians, surgeons and specialists in residence there. Prior to its erection, medical students had been sent to the city's various hospitals to obtain their early internships, and the resulting education had been, in the estimation of the medical school, variable and unsatisfactory.

As a neighborhood treatment center, the Dispensary was immediately popular. By the end of 1912 it saw an average of 109 people daily.

But other grants from the legislature had made possible the building of a proper hospital across the river. Doctors and students were gradually withdrawn from the Scandinavian community until, less than 20 years after its creation, the Dispensary was sold to private interests, to re-open as the Minneapolis Hotel. The Hotel is still in operation, now inhabited largely by older, single men. Its stone facade has been many times whitewashed, though the interior has changed only slightly, and in macabre ways. The halls are lined to chest-height with what was once hygienic blue tile, and above them, opposing rows of mirrors line the walls, ornamented with antiques, curios and the taxidermic heads of long-dead wildlife. The rooms have been erratically painted and wallpapered; some rooms are covered in several viscously conflicting patterns of paper, creating an atmosphere more suited to delerium tremens than daily habitation.

Of the many institutional buildings now quavering in the path of renewal, none has arrived at a more esoteric finale than the dispensatory.

A Lutheran seminary was situated next to Murphy Square. Augsburg Seminary moved to Minneapolis from Marshall, Wisc. in 1874, two years after it was begun. The seminary originally occupied one building in a residential block, functioning as a training school for young men entering the Lutheran ministry. It began as a secular college in 1879, and held its first graduation in 1879, when five young men took their bachelor's degrees.

Gradually, the college function increased, and the religious function fell away, although it was not completely dispensed with until 1963, and Augsburg College became a place of purely secular learning.

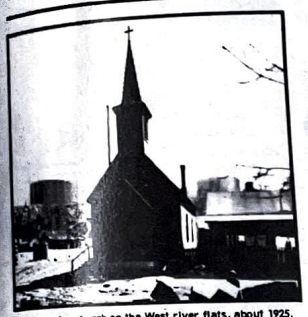
A few blocks away, on the corner of Sixth Street and 22nd Avenue, was the Children's home, a city orphanage under the direction of Ellen I.V. Stewart. The home neither grew nor changed its name, and public funding was so little that it ceased to operate in the early 1900s.

Other community centers were begun around the turn of the century. The Pillsbury Settlement House was built by Scandinavian labor for Scandinavians in the 1890s. Edward A. Currie was one of its earliest directors, appointed by the Pillsbury Foundation, a charitable group in charge of dispersing Scandinavian wealth.

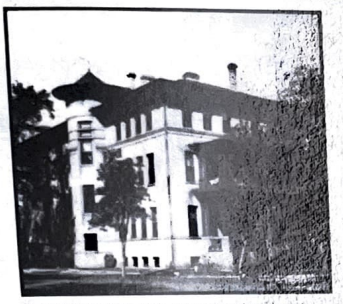
The settlement house was endowed with gymnasium, stage, baseball field, library and kitchen. The "Pill House," as it was called, flourished as a community center as late as the 1950s, and still saw limited use at the time of its destruction in 1970. It was at one time a neighborhood center for boys in training for the golden gloves. There were also formal baseball teams, whose uniforms were provided by local businesses and saloons (some of these teams still exist, such as Culla's, sponsored by a local 3.2 bar, whose unfortunate win-loss record for 1973 need not be recorded here). The "Pill House" was a neighborhood place, especially frequented by children from the four grade schools near Cedar.

The Citizen's Club, another community

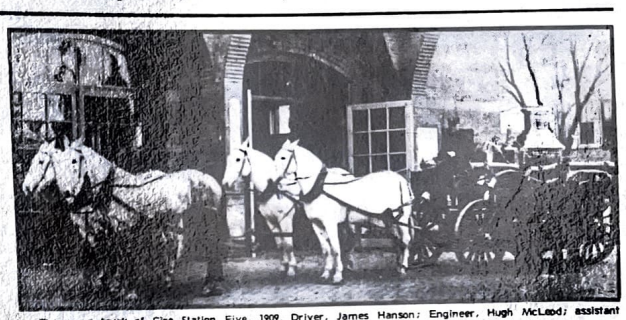
West Bank to 20



The Bohemian church on the West river flats, about 1925.



St. Mary's Hospital in 1907. A pair of carriages have been parked in the shade, left; doctors in Minneapolis brought their patients to the hospital.



The pump truck of Fire Station Five, 1909. Driver, James Hanson; Engineer, Hugh McLeod; assistant engineer, Robert Kuhlman.

West Bank from 19

center, was located at the intersection of Cedar and Franklin. Its facilities were similar to those of the "Pill House," with the addition of a swimming pool.

Residents nearer the river were served by the Riverside Baths. The Baths (most residents knew them as the Municipal Baths) were built by the city in 1913 at 2136 Sixth St.

The pool was only slightly less than Olympic size and ranged from three to nine feet in depth. The deeper end had two diving boards, one a high dive. The Baths were built to keep area children out of the river, but they were poorly kept and finally closed in 1952, when city council financing was withdrawn.

Max and Robert Herman, a father and son from the North Side, re-opened the baths in 1955, obtaining a $1 per month lease from the city. They planned to rehabilitate the building and install "one of the most modern steambaths in the area." The cost of a swim rose from the five cent fee charged by the city (the city's nickel fee included trunk rental and a shower. The shower could be had separately for two cents.) The Hermans sold out a few years later, their hopes unrealized. The baths are now University Contract Lot C49.

Next door, Ilstrip's market (once John Foss's grocery) made a killing on Eskimo Pies. So did the grocery across the street on 22nd and Riverside. Braastad and Dyste established this latter store, and ran it together for many years. It is now occupied by North Country Foods, the neighborhood food co-op.

Bohemian Flats

Below the Washington Avenue Bridge, on a wide double shelf of unplatted land that sloped between the bluffs and the river, was a settlement of people who formed a largely separate community from the Scandinavian District above them.

The area, settled by the Danes in the 1860s, and later given over to Czechoslovakians, was known as the Bohemian Flats. It was among the poorest neighborhoods in Minneapolis, and its residents were accustomed to harder and more unskilled labors even than the Scandinavians. Another such community grew up on the opposite shore, where the University's heating plant is now situated. This area was also known as the Bohemian flats.

Settlement of the flats was a difficult affair. The sloping lands by the river had been extensively quarried to provide stone for the First National Bank; the first residents hauled in mud and gravel to fill these excavations before building their homes. Their homes came from the river, built of salvaged millwood and occasional whole logs which had slipped from the wharves of the lumber mills. The largest houses were the first, near the river. Smaller houses and sheds followed. Eventually platforms were set in the shallows to catch this commercial windfall, and a portable sawmill turned up for use on uncut logs. These wooden one and two story buildings were annually whitewashed by the owners and annually flooded by the Mississippi. The worst floods were in 1911 and 1916, but almost every year saw the evacuation of the lower flats. Some residents moved into the caves opened by quarriers, or the beer caves beside the Nuremburg and Heinrich breweries. Others were taken into houses higher up the river, or housed in churches on the bluffs. A handful of residents remained in their flooded homes, building elevated boardwalks down the three curving streets, Mill, Cooper and Wood. Boats were moored at the waterline for the unsteady. Some of the most regularly flooded houses had their own boats, using them to tend their yard and keep their fences locked and upright and the stovewood inside.

It was consensus among the Bohemians that the floods were no hardship, but a forseeable part of the change in season. When the river subsided, houses were cleaned out and yards were set in order and planted. The Bohemian garden was sewn with certain dietary mainstays. Czech cabbage, winter squashes (which were painted and hung under the eaves), celery, and thick crops of garlic, peppers and seed poppies grew in each back lot.

Ironically, potatoes would not grow on the flats. Potatoes were a New World vegetable which had become extremely popular in Europe. In the Slavic countries, potatoes became a basic food, but on the Bohemian Flats, the soil was too moist for them, and they rotted in the ground.

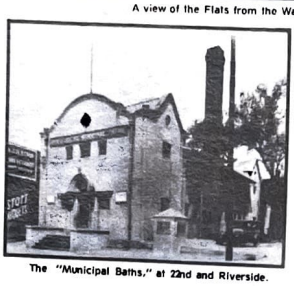
Most families kept chickens and goats; the residents made goat butter and goat cheese, both rich-flavored and white. One woman in the middle flats kept a pair of cows. While her husband worked upon the bluffs, she and her children added to the family income by selling milk, which they carried door to door twice daily in large milkcans. When she was sick, the children brought the cow on their rounds and milked to order.

The houses were without electricity or water—drinking water was furnished by a single red pump on 22nd Avenue. City water was not installed until 1925. But, like the floods, "nobody minded."

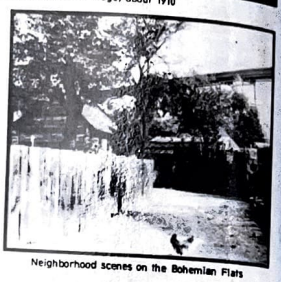
Bohemian women gathered mushrooms in spring and summer from the bank, and around the breweries.

Fruit, too, was obtained from the Mississippi. One fruit house in North Minneapolis dumped its spoilage in the river, and Slavic children caught it with outstretched sticks after its tumble down

A view of the Flats from the Washington Avenue Bridge, about 1910



The "Municipal Baths," at 22nd and Riverside.



Neighborhood scenes on the Bohemian Flats

St. Anthony Falls.

All of the men, and more of the children than in the Scandinavian sectors above, worked in the factories and mills. The men were members of Sokols (Falcon) as well. Sokols was a physical fitness and social organization of Czechoslovakians founded by a Dr. Tyrs in Prague, 1862. The first chapter in the U.S. was in Chicago, but a Minneapolis chapter was formed by 1908, with a private summer camp near Pine City, Minnesota.

The boys found jobs in the Wabasha Sash and Door Co. for 12½ cents an hour. Others worked in lumber and flour mills, or at the bottling works along the railroad.

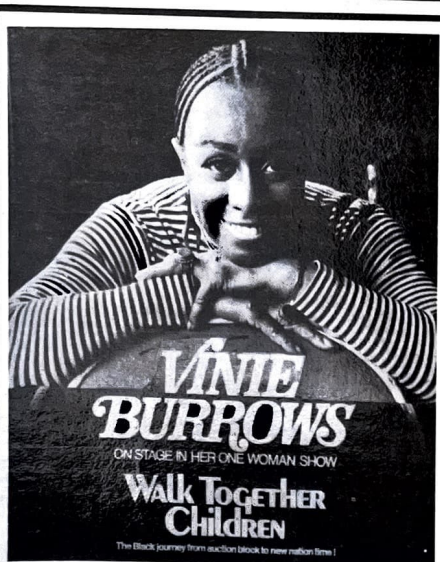
Germans were generally preferred in hiring at the breweries. The Noerenburg and Heinrich breweries sat in the midst of the Czech community, below the south side of the present Washington Avenue footbridge. Beer was available from them even on Sundays, when saloons on the bluffs were closed, but no jobs came from them.

The Czechs were a very religious community, but their first church was not built until 1888. Sunday meetings were held in houses or by the river; in 1880, Reverend Sieverson opened his Lutheran church to them for part of Sunday mornings. The Bohemians held their own services in the church, including the reading of the Postilla, a text of the Greek service.

A small, spired church was built on the flats in 1888 under the Northern Pacific railroad bridge. Reverend Karal Hauser preached his first sermon to a 36-member congregation. In the winter of that year, the church passed its first Christmas.

Bohemians energetically preserved the personal and general accoutrements of their religion. On Christmas eve, the village below the bluffs was quiet, for it had been a tradition in some families that on the Eve of the Nativity, only church music should welcome the night. The door of the church was left open, as the windows of the Czechoslovakian churches had been open, and the carolers sang until long after the lamplighter had finished on the last side streets above.

Other Czech customs were more notorious. On May 19, 1891, the Minneapolis Journal told of a knife fight between a Roman and Greek Catholic, following a Bohemian marriage. The Journal story


VINIE BURROWS
ON STAGE IN HER ONE WOMAN SHOW
Walk Together Children
The Black journey from auction block to new nation time !

Sept. 27, 1973 West Bank Aud. 8:00 pm

$2.00 in Advance with Student I.D.
$3.00 At Door
Tickets at: MSA Bookstore, Daytons

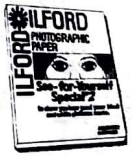
An Off-Broadway Production

Prose, Poetry, Song, Film. Featuring such authors as Langston Hughes, Don L. Lee.

COFFMAN UNION PROGRAM COUNCIL

finn's cameras
three ilford
see-for-yourself specials
to show you how good your black and white pictures can be..

2 rolls 35mm film plus developer reg. $2.20 value finn's $1.60



8x10 paper 6 pack assorted surface finishes. 60 sheets. reg. $11.50 value finn's $5.99

buy both 1 and 2 for $7.15
a total savings of $6.55

finn's cameras
wabasha at fourth
st. paul 222-1877

MASTURBATION: MARIJUANA, MORALITY
ESPISTEMOLOGICAL PROBLEMS FOR REENTRY SYSTEMS Jamie Lefko
BOOK with RECORD $9.95
SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO
SVENGALI PRESS 1720 WEST 31ST ST
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55408

Fri.-Sat. West Bank Aud.
From the Master of Shock
A Shocking Masterpiece !

A deadly new twist from the original Hitchcock!

ALFRED HITCHCOCK'S
"FRENZY"
Friday-Saturday, Sept. 28-29
West Bank Aud. Room 800
7:15, 9:15pm Adm. $1.50
Minnesota Cinema Society

Some residents of the flats.

was sub-headed "The Usual Result of a Wedding on the Flats."

Weddings on the flats lasted for three days; funerals ended day after the burial. There was always beer from the neighborhood brewery, and there were always arguments.

Even on work days the flats remained a transported segment of the Old Country. The women wore aprons and shawls, and went to market carrying willow baskets. Wash was done on the banks of the river, pounded, and set in barrels outside with a covering of ashes.

Painters annually came from the University to study this old world colony, but the residents treated them with suspicion. W.P.A. artist Arthur Kerrick noted, "When we came down to paint, they thought we were just plain nuts. They were tolerant of us, but they thought we ought to be doing something worthwhile now that we were grown. Guess they thought they were pretty good themselves because they were imported people.

"They made their own cigars." (Cigars on Snoose Boulevard were made in Ole Hansen's cigar factory, which stood at the present site of Mama Rosa's. Cigars on the Flats were made at home.)

Dewey Albinson, another area artist, owned a shack on one of the streets, and lived there seasonally while he painted. In a letter to a W.P.A. historian, he remembered, "The people were deeply suspicious of us because they sensed that we were making pictures for the newspapers to bring about pressure to have them removed from the hollow....I got to know some of them quite well and learned that many of them had made good money and owned houses up on the hill, and yet would prefer to live down there."

Until 1923, the inhabitants of the flats had never paid any rent. The land was sold by the Territory to C.C. Washburn, who gave it to his son. The younger Washburn passed the flats on to Dorilius Morrison, a pioneer, and in turn to C.C. Leland. In 1920, Leland had the deed signed over to C.H. Smith, a land speculator whose offices were in the Phoenix Building downtown. Smith was the first of the Flats' landlords to attempt to collect duty from its tenants. Clinton A. Renke, his attorney, was sent around to the houses with his rent book, but the men would have none of it; later, Renke made his rounds in the afternoon, threatening the women at home, and collecting a portion of the money he was told to charge.

In the '20s, the longest standing resident of the flats was John Medvec, who had bought his house at 78 Cooper Street in May of 1884, for $210. He continued working for the Minneapolis Sewer Department, and in the summer collected wood from the river, and tended the small courtyard behind his house. He had paid for a house, he said, "but never for the land. I'm there all the time; I move in the spring because the river rolls over my floor. I raised my family there." Medvec's son, John, owned his own home in the Flats, and had begun a family. During 1920, Clinton Renke obtained one $20 payment from Mrs. Medvec. Their payment ceased thereafter. C.H. Smith was turning over no profit on his land.

On May 25, 1923, Renke returned, in the company of Lieutenant H.M. Burke of the Minneapolis Police. When Mrs. Medvec discerned their purpose, she bolted the door, defying them to open it. As the lieutenant began shouldering the door, Mrs. Medvec's neighbors poured out of their houses, surrounding the lawyer and policeman. Lieutenant Burke began calling for help.

A patrol car arrived, and at the same moment, trucks and workmen who began to remove furniture from other houses on the street. As her neighbors turned to defend their own houses, Mrs. Medvec re-opened the door and began arguing with police. A work crew pushed into the Medvec house, and Mrs. Medvec fainted. She was revived in hysterics.

Evictions were attempted at fourteen houses on Cooper and Wood Streets, and a large crowd gathered to confront landlord Smith's workers. There was some shouting, but before violence could begin, lawyer David Lundeen served Renke and Burke with a court order enjoining them from forcible action.

With the help of Lundeen, the Bohemians carried their case through court after court, finally being told unequivocally by the Minnesota Supreme Court, to pay rent or move out.

Rent was paid on December 1, 1923, but by spring, a quarter of the Flats' population had moved to higher ground. A Tribune reporter, doing an investigative story on the area, could get no one to explain the sudden decline in population. He asked them if the rents had driven their neighbors away, or if they were disturbed by the tearing down of the railroad bridge above their church, but received only evasive answers. "Rents? What you mean? We pay our rents now," John Medvec told him. "People move out? Maybe. I don't know nothing about it. " The reporter continued his inquiry elsewhere:

"...Two bobbed-haired girls about 10 and 12 years old were raking away for dear life in the yard next door the Rollins' Wednesday morning.

" 'Getting ready to make a garden?'

" 'Naw. We're just having fun. Nobody lives here.'

" 'Lots of people moving uptown, eh?'

" 'Uh-huh.'

" 'What's the matter? Is it the rents? Or is it because people are afraid things will fall on them from the bridge?'

" 'Maybe, but that ain't all. This place ain't so nice like it used to be. It's getting different. People don't like it no more.'

" 'Think you're going to have a flood this year?'

"The 12-year-old girl pushed her hair out of her eyes and looked disconsolately out at narrow river. 'Naw,' she sighed, 'Nothing ever happens here no more.' "

Before Christmas, other land owners on the fringes of the flats began to collect rents. The nature of the neighborhood changed. In 1927, Minneapolis motorcycle clubs held races on the Flats' one paved street; the area around the two breweries, which had been demolished in 1905, was fenced off, and construction was begun on a shipping depot. Water service was installed for the building, then connected to the houses; the first house to receive water was that of alderman Bastiss. The black minister from North Minneapolis who had come to the river for baptism each spring ceased to come in 1925. The first barge arrived in 1926: the Thorpe from St. Louis. Others followed.

When notice was made in early June, 1929 of condemnation hearings to be held on the houses in the hollow, few of the remaining residents were surprised. They attended the July hearings, no longer attempting to avert the coming disaster, but only to seek compensation for their homes. Some received immediate payment; for others there were legal entanglements that wouldn't be straightened out for years.

Mrs. Medvec was home when Assistant City Attorney Joseph A. Hadley came around with her notice of condemnation. She opened the door hesitantly.

"You came to throw me out?"

Hadley told her probably not until the following spring.

"I live here in 1883," she said. "And now maybe we go and camp maybe over there." With her finger she indicated the University campus. "You talk Slovak? Yes? No?"

The residents were given until April 1, 1931 to find new homes. By March 31, almost all had moved out, and some houses had already been bulldozed. The last Bohemians were packing and preparing to leave—all but Frank Badnarek, who had lived on the flats since 1889.

"Let 'em come," he told a Minneapolis Journal reporter, "I'm ready for them. Let them try to throw me out. I've beat the

West Bank to 22

University of Minnesota
students, staff & faculty
You are eligible for the ISTC

Xmas Charter Flights

Sign up now

Miami-with special options to **Jamaica**
Bahamas
Virgin Islands
Venezuela

$130
Dec. 24-Jan. 2

Europe-$222 Dec. 13-Jan. 2

Also Group Flights to:
LosAngeles-$143.28 Dec. 13-Jan. 2
San Francisco-$143.28 Dec. 13-Jan. 2
New York-$117.28 Dec. 13-Jan. 2
Please ask about tours to Mexico City, Acapulco, and Hawaii. We also have a ski tour planned.

231 Coffman Union
373-0180

Int'l Study & Travel Center
Minn. Int'l Student Assoc.

Special Preview
TOMORROW
1:30

WAITING FOR GODOT
by Samuel Beckett

Reserved Seats
STUDENTS-ONLY $2.75
Non-Students $4.00

RESERVE NOW by calling the Guthrie Box Office, 377-2224

Guthrie '73

West Bank from 21

river and I'll beat them."

Badnarek held out while all the houses around him were knocked down and removed. Gravel trucks appeared, and began dumping loads along the flats; Badnarek's six by eight foot shack was the only building remaining, and Badnarek waited in it with his scott terrier, Petty, the only other survivor of the Bohemian community. Frank planted a flag on his rooftop. The city engineer visited the shack, assuring its occupant that no action would be taken until a settlement had been reached on compensation. Old friends and neighbors brought food—Badnarek was himself jobless, and the two cents in his pocket was the sum of his wealth. Czechs were suspicious of banks.

Finally, on April 28, the dump trucks backed to his door and unloaded gravel into his tiny house.

Badnarek gave up. He removed his flag and a bundle of belongings, and with the help of friends, wrecked the house himself. title to his land had been lost in a welter of litigation and back taxes, and Badnarek received no compensation. All he said as he left the sight was—"What can a man do with all those trucks?"

The last house removed, the city engineers went ahead with the construction of the new municipal coal dump. Barges were already beginning to line up along the Mississippi carrying loads of coal.

On June 17, the Minneapolis Journal conferred the Journal's Animal Hero Award on Petty, Frank's dog.

The Entertainers

The early 20th Century witnessed the heyday of the saloon district on the Boulevard. The relatively unrestricted growth of the saloon trade along Cedar Avenue cultivated a social phenomenon which occurred in few other U.S. cities: **Bond Komik** (literally, farm comedy or peasant comedy) or "Swedish Vaudeville" grew up in Minneapolis.

Dance houses abounded on Cedar and Washington avenues. In addition to Dania, there were the Mozart and Hegna halls, the Normanna, the Southern Theatre and **Svenska Broedernas** ("Swedish Brothers"), also called Eagle Hall.

On Washington Avenue was the Southern Theater, a legitimate playhouse. On the opposite side of the Theatre, in the early 1900s, was a **Shoe Repair While You Wait** shop. Further down Washington stood the Eureka Laundry, whose windowless brick wall jutted three stories into the Minneapolis sky proclaiming in mammoth letters, "HENRY GEORGE 5 CENT CIGAR—Better than Ever."

The Theatre was a great, florid building with ornate cornicework and pop-eyed gargoyles surrounding a wide two-story proscenium arch. A birdcage ticket booth stood next to the sidewalk in the shadow of the arch, announcing performances at 8:00 and 9:30 p.m. on Saturday, and 1:30, 2:45 and 4:00 p.m. on Sunday. On Saturday afternoon children's matinees drew scores of neighborhood children, dimes in hands, for the weekend fare of silent films.

The evening's fare was live theater, usually Swedish language plays by Strindberg and Bjornstjerne Bjorneson, et al. The live theater kept tight ties with the old country, often playing such bills as the French farce "Three Beloved Constables" simultaneously with its performance in Stockholm. The playhouse on Washington became known as the **Soedra Theatre**, a linguistic link with Stockholm's **Soedra Thaetre**. Actors from one **Soedra** sometimes visited the other.

While Ibsen and Strindberg remained prized artifacts of the Old Country, and were preserved with reverence in the Scandinavian community, the most popular entertainment on the Avenue was **Bond Komik**, which developed gradually into a form of entertainment distinct from any Scandinavian counterpart.

Bond Komik was an evening of drama and music. Early in the evening was a folk-type play several acts in length, almost always containing a group folk dance, and surrounding themes of immigration and life in America or, occasionally, Scandinavia.

Between the acts, the **Bond Komik** stepped in front of the curtain. His repertoire consisted of "olios:" humorous songs and monologs, sometimes monologs delivered in rhyme.

The playbills always bore the announcement "Dans efter Programmet" and, when the play was done, the theatre seats were folded or lined against the walls and the actors' band began tuning up for an old-time dance, or **Gammeldans**, which lasted until the early hours.

Hugo Peterson, whose father owned the J. O. Peterson drugstore on Seven Corners, estimated that on a Saturday night, between 10,000 and 12,000 people would crowd the area halls to hear performers like the Olson Sisters, Thorsten Skarning and the Norwegian Hillbillies, and the Olle i Skratthult troupe; and later, Slim Jim and the Vagabond Kid, and the infamous Whoopee John Wilfart.

Swedish vaudeville was by no means confined to Minneapolis or the West Bank. The Olson Sisters, Ethel and Elanora, had a national career, recording for Victor and Brunswick records. Ethel and Elanora worked independently as Norwegian monologists, and both toured with the Chautauqua circuit.

The circuit was a performer's route which originated in Chautauqua, New York, and trailed through cities and small towns across the country. A wide variety of performers took the Chautauqua trail, among them symphony orchestras, soloists, monologists, actors and authors. Mark Twain, during a destitute period in his career, was sent on the circuit—many of the recent revivals of his monologs are drawn from readings given on these tours.

The Chautauqua performers played in auditoriums and under tents, to sophisticates and farmers, the circuit spread a strange potpouri of entertainment and culture to a strange potpouri of Americans.

Performers on the circuit were somewhat elevated by their connection with it, and on tour, the Olson sisters were often invited to post-performance parties hosted by the college professors and local socialites.

Ironically, the type of dialect comedy developed by the sisters derived much of its humor in portraying immigrants' difficulty with English. Dialect humor relied heavily upon mispronunciations, strange constructions and their consequences.

Another part of the Olson's humor was in familiarity. It was a portion of their art totally lost on residents of Ohio and Indiana: In one routine, Elanora gives directions to a Swedish friend. "Well, ferst you go down to Seven Corners, then you snu" (turn around) "and you find a big hous on the cor-ner. And it's not that one, and it's not the one next to that, but the one next to the one what it ain't."

The most famous of the Avenues early entertainers was Olle i Skratthult (Olle from Laughtersville), the Prince of **Bond Komik**.

Olle was the stage name of Hjalmar Peterson, a Swedish immigrant born near Munkfors, in the Vaermland province of Sweden, in 1886. He arrived in the U.S. in 1906, already a confident singer and comedian. Hjalmer worked his way onto the Swedish-American stage, gathering a troupe of actor-musicians around him. In 1911 he returned to Scandinavia for nearly four years, performing with a small section of his troupe, which had proudly named itself "The Swedish-American Quartet".

Olle again arrived at Ellis Island in 1916, ready to re-organize his American troupe. He was one of the few **Bond Komik** artists to establish a reputation in both America and Europe.

Olle traveled with about 30 performers, who were hired by him. He demanded professionalism in his troupe. The actors were musicians, set designers and stage hands in their off-stage moments, and could perform equally well at any of their tasks.

Olle himself could play no musical instrument. When one of his routines called for an accordion, he carried a reedless dummy instrument onto the stage and faked the song while the troupe accordionist, Bert Danielson, filled in behind the curtain.

Olle's part in the troupe's production was, of course, that of **Bond Komik**. Like most such comedians, he always performed in the same costume. Olle wore tall, creaky boots, a heavy cloth overcoat and a long scarf. A giant carnation sprouted from his blonde wig, and his smile revealed two blacked-out teeth.

He delivered his monologs dead-pan, and always in Swedish. Other **Bond Komik** performers, such as Charle Widden, Olle's West Coast contemporary, did some of their routines in dialect; but Olle's songs and stories were always delivered in his, and usually, the audiences' first language.

In 1917, Olle married Olga Lindgren, the Swedish-American singer. Olga was herself a polished performer, and introduced one of Sweden's most popular songs, "Haelsa dem Daerhemma" (Greet those at home) to American audiences.

Olle had already established himself in America with the 1915 recording of "Nicolina." The song described the romantic struggle of two young lovers:

"I asked her father for her hand in marriage
"And got the answer in the strangest way!
"I never yet got out on any doorstep
"In such a hurry as I did that day...

"Then I went home and wrote to Nikolina,
"There's not the slightest bit of hope in me;
"If you don't end me of this awful torture,
"I'll end it all by jumping in the sea.'

"Then Nikolina answered in a hurry:
"Oh, Darling Karl, don't be so unwise;
"A suicide is nothing but a dumb-bell,
"Why don't we wait until the old man dies?' "

Though not an epic work, "Nikolina" enjoyed phenominal popularity in the United States, and was translated into English, Norwegian and later, Serbo-Croatian. With the 1915 recording, Olle i Skratthult became an institution.

In a few years he had made his fortune. Not confident in banks, he carried his money in suitcases when he traveled. The troupe had its own circuit (Olle managed to bear up under the stigma of being "not Chautauqua") and its own advance man.

They traveled throughout Swedish America, using Minneapolis as a rehearsal room, a place to work up and refine comic, musical and theatrical acts for the road. They played Chicago, Jamestown, New York; Worchester, Mass.; San Francisco, Seattle, and the Swedish halls in the San Pedro Harbor area of Los Angeles.

Olle was known for his generosity in those days, and for his limitless caprice. One legend recounts that, while on tour in the Northwest, Olle's limousine was stopped by a landslide which had covered the road. Olle had a show that night, so he hoisted his suitcases and set out on foot across the rubble, leaving the car standing in the road. When he reached the next town, he unbuckled his luggage and bought another limousine.

Besides his stage presentations, Olle recorded more than fifty 78 rpm records, and did a number of musical radio shows. He lent his name to Olle i Skratthult's Hobo Orchestra and Olle i Skratthult's Navel Orchestra, though he never performed with either of these groups.

Swedish vaudeville was family entertainment—one of its stages was the IOGT Hall on 2½ Street, behind the Peterson Drug Store. The Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) was a temperance organization and the nation's largest Swedish group. **Bond Komik** suffered little during prohibition, though the going was rough for other Cedar Avenue enterprises.

Prohibition was a hardship for the street which had been so long reknowned for its liquor and entertainment. When the Minnesota dry law went into effect in 1918, nearly a third of the Cedar Avenue storefronts were closed.

The breweries on the flats had been shut down by 1905, but brewers and distillers fought to convert their facilities to legal purposes. The Heileman's Minneapolis Branch on Fifth Street between 13th and 14th Avenues converted to near beer. Their advertisements for Heileman's New Lager noted, "It Sparkles!" But sparkling was not enough, and the company closed its works before the Volsted Act was repealed.

The breweries that survived were those which, like the Schmidt brewery in St.

The Living-Learning Center

Our new location is
201 Wesbrook Hall

Our fall program has service-learning projects in the following areas:

DAYCARE
HEALTH CARE
ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION
URBAN HISTORY
NEIGHBORHOOD ISSUES
INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION/PROJECT ADAPT
WOMEN'S STUDIES
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS/CORRECTIONS
COMMUNICATIONS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

These projects are available to any undergraduate University student, and we can try to help you arrange academic credit for your work. We also do off-campus independent study advising, so if you have an interest or ideas in another area, come in and talk to us about it.

SELL YOUR ART!
Now there's a place for the people. Painting, sculpture, etc. A showplace to sell your art, not a high priced gallery.
BONGO'S METRO ART
10 West Lake St.
825-2693 or 825-9361

RENT
COLOR TV-STEREO
B&W-TV-REFRIGERATORS
WITH OPTION TO BUY
Color TV. . . . . $19.75/mo. and up
B & W TV. . . $9.75/mo. 3 mo. min.
Stereos $11.75/mo. and up
Refrigerators
. . . . $5.00/mo. and up 3 mo. min
DAILY AND WEEKLY RATES AVAILABLE
CALL 338-2777
COLOR TV & HI-FI
SALES SERVICE RENTALS
419 14th Ave S.E. Dinky

Paul, found other uses for their brewing equipment. The Schmidt works turned out denatured alcohol for medicinal purposes, though some of it still found its way into the resentful stomachs of hard-core "wets".

Most saloons eventually closed; only a few kept their doors open. One of them was the Five Corners Bar, founded in 1903, which became a workingman's restaurant, serving soda pop.

In the neighborhood a thin alcoholic flame was kept burning. On the flats and above, private stills opened in cellars and on rooftops. The basement of Hagen's Wildest Traders on Seven Corners became a speakeasy. When prohibition ended, the people were long past readiness to rebuild.

There were more bars in the 1930s than there had been in 1915. Besides the Five Corners and Palmers there were well over a dozen bars lining Cedar Avenue. The People's Club opened at 521 Cedar, serving 3.2 beer and Scandinavian entertainment, and extending liberal credit to the "regulars," until things got out of hand.

Three more liquor establishments stood across the street from Dania Hall. On the corner was Milo's, run by a red-haired Irish girl whose evil temper kept many of the neighborhood people away. Next door, Charlie Wine's offered a more pleasant atmosphere for consciousness alteration. Charlie hired a Polish accordionist from Northeast Minneapolis who concocted many neighborhood songs as standard entertainment:

> "There is a bar on 3rd Street South
> "Johnson's is its name;
> "And in that bar they have a game,
> "Bingo is its name.
> "B-I-N-G-O, B-I-N-G-O, B-I-N-G-O;
> "Bingo is its name."

Johnson's was Charlie's competition, and sponsored afternoon bingo. Rudy and Gene, the bartenders, played dice for drinks, and the entertainment stopped at 1 a.m.

The neighborhood swelled full with music and entertainment, both equity and amateur. In 1943, the residents won the Park Board's city-wide community sing contest, held at Riverside park.

Soapbox politicians sprouted alongside street missionaries on the corners. The I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) was a popular organization among poor Scandinavians and its spokesmen were many.

In the earlier part of the century, Lars M. Rand rivalled the Bond Komik as entertainment on election years. He served as the ward alderman from 1891 to 1911, and the unchanging opening of his campaign speeches became political legend:

"Ladies and gentlemen, forty long years ago on the rocky bound coast of Norway a little Norwegian boy was born to his mother naked. Who was that boy? Lars M. Rand, friend of the Workingman. He is now your alderman."

Ironically, Swedish vaudeville, which had survived prohibition in high style, began to die out in the 1930's. The live stage in America was dealt a double death-blow by movies and the depression.

In 1930 and 1931, Olle's troupe reduced its circuit to the midwest, where their engagements became fewer and fewer. Members left to travel on their own, and Olle finally ended his tour in Minneapolis. He and Olga were divorced in 1933, and Col. John Franzen of the Salvation Army gave him shelter in that organization. Olle became a singer in the band, and aired his voice on Sundays, when the band marched down Cedar from their temple on Seventh Street, passing by Dania Hall.

Dania closed its doors to regular weekend entertainment by the 1950s; the Mozart Hall was gutted by fire in 1960 or 1961. In the 50s Olle was so poor that a friend had to lend him a change of clothing, and in 1960, the prince of Swedish vaudeville died in Minneapolis, penniless, a short distance from Snus Boulevard.

In the death of Bond Komik was a portion of the corruption of the community; for the stages of Cedar Avenue had been an organ by which a small American culture spoke to itself, described to itself feelings that were universal within it, and recognized itself.

In 1963, Phil Richter, the proprietor of Richter's Drugs in Dania's remaining storefront, bought the hall from the Dania Society for dollar "and other good consideration." In 1968, Richter sold the building to a new company headed by Keith R. Heller, a former business professor at the University, and Gloria Segal, one of his students. The price of the building was $110,000.

Some subtle factor in the economics of the West Bank had changed in the intervening five years, and to some, it seemed as though the area was about to undergo a re-birth.

Grave Mutations

"People don't want neighborhood government just for an ego trip. They want it desperately because they want a say in how things should be and what changes should be made—and their instincts on this are absolutely right."
—Jane Jacobs, author of The Death and Life of Great American Cities

In the 1950's, the Minnesota Highway Department began plans to acquire the neighborhood of blacks and Scandinavians west of the Milwaukee Road tracks for an urban extention of Interstate Highway 35W. A wide swatch was to be cut along the north side of Franklin Avenue for Interstate 94, passing east over the river and shattering the quietude of Riverside Park.

At nearly the same time, the University of Minnesota began searching for a West Bank site for a training center for business students.

Other institutions were on the march. Augsburg College, St. Mary's (the Catholic) Hospital, and Fairview had become important economic functions of the city, and were developing plans encompassing the residential areas at their perimeters. The two hospitals began acquisition through condemnation.

In 1958 the University began to acquire land around the old Washington Avenue Bridge. Deeds were slow in coming at first, but when Heller and Segal bought a foothold in the area, the turnover of property began to speed up.

Gloria and Martin Segal first purchased West Bank land while she was still a student. Legend has it that Gloria bought a small lot to ameliorate her personal parking problems.

The first Heller-Segal acquisition was on the East Bank of the river, a square of tenement apartments called University Court Apartments (The corporate name has shifted continually, and the cognomen used here is the company name known to the residents).

By establishing liberal mortgages for University Court, funds were raised for the acquisition of the first land parcels on the West Bank.

These first parcels were rented to young students, their hair longer than the sock-hop generation which had preceeded them, and their society somewhat strange to the older Scandinavians surrounding them.

The Scandinavians were not unaccustomed to the proximity of other communities, however. A large black neighborhood had grown up on the west side of the community, and by the early 1930s extended eastward along Washington Avenue. Like other black communities in Minneapolis, its growth and culture was

Olle (Skrotthuft (right) 1919

ignored, and its history has survived unwritten, only in the memories of its members.

The black and Scandinavian communities remained largely aloof from each other. Scandinavians speak of their community as ending at Riverside Avenue after 1930, and blacks seldom ventured south of their neighborhood.

The black community had its own bars and entertainment. Only a few bars, like the Breezy Point in the 300 block of Cedar, were racially mixed, but the Breezy Point was often the scene of racial conflict.

A more comfortable evening could be spent at the Key Club, north of Washington on 13th Avenue.

The Key Club was a black nightclub, and one of the city's few outlets for American blues music. Muddy Waters was among the artists there, perhaps because his younger brother worked as the club's bouncer. Later, Lazy Bill Lucas traveled to Minneapolis to play at the club with George "Mojo" Buford. Lazy Bill liked Minneapolis, and stayed.

The club, unfortunately, changed hands. Frank Siefert, a local television personality, bought the Key Club in the 1950s, and decided to "improve" its entertainment calendar. Among his innovations were the Lennon Sisters.

Frank's idea panned out poorly; the black community boycotted these absurd performances, and Frank was eventually compelled to let the club manage itself. The club survived for several years as a font of blues musicology, until it was eaten by land acquisition for the Interstate Highway.

An era of oppression in moderation, the 50's saw one black patrolman on Cedar Avenue, a beat cop known as Coffee. He was a large, gentle man with a deeply rooted sense of justice, who was well liked by members of both communities. One neighborhood story recalls an argument between Coffee and a local white man. The policeman had been unfair to the white, and when they met in the Blue Goose, a restaurant on Cedar and Riverside, Coffee stood stoically as the shorter man hurled punches at him.

Coffee was later fired from the force, when his wife committed suicide using his police revolver; the patrolman had not been authorized to keep the gun in his possession when off duty.

Community relations were sometimes violently strained. Blacks were barred from the white dances at Dania and the Pill House. In 1963 and 1964 there were large demonstrations at the latter, and in 1965, the Pill House was required to open its doors to black patrons.

The Scandinavians, themselves long repressed, bore an ingrained resentment toward their black neighbors, who were kept at an economic level below them. It has not been an uncommon phenomena of social evolution in this mottled society. As various communities begin to obtain the sort of social self-esteem they have sought since immigration, they look toward their roots of hardship, displaced among some other group, with avoidance and distaste.

When new, poor students began to populate the Scandinavian neighborhoods, with arcane long hair and living in voluntary poverty, a breach point had been reached.

Efforts were made to merge the two communities. The Triangle Bar invited Maury Bernstein, an accordionist whose music bridged the gap between leftist students and Scandinavians, to play there, hoping to woo both cultures.

The Triangle was already a place of mixed interests, regularly visited by Greeks and Ukranians from North Minneapolis who held impromptu circle dances on the second-story dance floor. Maury played on a small elevated stage at one end of the floor, surrounded by wrought-iron fence, his music amplified through the pained capacitors of the juke box. Maury opened the door for the folk-music culture of the new residents. John Koerner and Dave Ray began to appear at the Triangle.

Soon a coffee house opened up in the triangular building bordered by Riverside and Sixth Street: the Cafe Extempore. The "Extemp" was housed in a collection of old

West Bank to 24

BUCKMINSTER FULLER

FREE PUBLIC LECTURE ON
MON., OCT. 1, 2:30 PM
NORTHROP AUDITORIUM

MINNEAPOLIS CAMPUS

SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY GALLERY AND THE DEPARTMENT OF CONCERTS AND LECTURES.

CICERO'S
A MUSICAL EATERY

Starring 40,000 pounds of 1926 Wurlitzer Theater Organ

Located in Har Mar SE Side
next to George's Shoe Repair
11-11 Mon.-Thurs. 11-1 Fri.-Sat. 4-10 Sun.
(What the hell is a Toadmouse?)

Can you believe it?! A pizza joint inside a theater organ!

You won't believe it even after you see it!!

Eat, Drink and be Merry!

THIS COUPON GOOD FOR
50¢ OFF ON ANY MEDIUM LARGE Cicero's Pizza
Good Mon. Tues. & Wed.
ONE COUPON PER PIZZA ONE COUPON PER DAY

933, and Col.
Army gave
zation. Olle
nd aired his
nd marched
e on Seventh

ular weekend
the Mozart
or 1961. In the
friend had to
, and in 1960,
eville died in
hort distance

was a portion
unity; for the
been an organ
culture spoke
feelings that
nd recognized

e proprietor of
a's remaining
from the Dania
ther good con-
chter sold the
eaded by Keith
ss professor at
Segal, one of his
e building was

he economics of
nged in the in-
d to some, it
ea was about to

ions

od government just for
ely because they want a
what changes should be
are absolutely right."
Death and Life of Great

nnesota Highway
is to acquire the
and Scandinavians
toad tracks for an
tate Highway 35W.
cut along the north
e for Interstate 94,
ver and shattering
de Park.
me, the University
arching for a West
center for business

ere on the march.
St. Mary's (the
and Fairview had
onomic functions of
eveloping plans en-
ential areas at their
o hospitals began
ndemnation.
ty began to acquire
Washington Avenue
ow in coming at first,
d Segal bought a
a, the turnover of
eed up.
Segal first purchased
ile she was still a
that Gloria bought a
orate her personal

parking problems.

The first Heller-Segal acquisition was on the East Bank of the river, a square of tenement apartments called University Court Apartments (The corporate name has shifted continually, and the cognomen used here is the company name known to the residents).

By establishing liberal mortgages for University Court, funds were raised for the acquisition of the first land parcels on the West Bank.

These first parcels were rented to young students, their hair longer than the sock-hop generation which had preceeded them, and their society somewhat strange to the older Scandinavians surrounding them.

The Scandinavians were not unaccustomed to the proximity of other communities, however. A large black neighborhood had grown up on the west side of the community, and by the early 1930s extended eastward along Washington Avenue. Like other black communities in Minneapolis, its growth and culture was

Olle i Skratthult, (right), 1919

ignored, and its history has survived unwritten, only in the memories of its members.

The black and Scandinavian communities remained largely aloof from each other. Scandinavians speak of their community as ending at Riverside Avenue after 1930, and blacks seldom ventured south of their neighborhood.

The black community had its own bars and entertainment. Only a few bars, like the Breezy Point in the 300 block of Cedar, were racially mixed; but the Breezy Point was often the scene of racial conflict.

A more comfortable evening could be spent at the Key Club, north of Washington on 13th Avenue.

The Key Club was a black nightclub, and one of the city's few outlets for American blues music. Muddy Waters was among the artists there, perhaps because his younger brother worked as the club's bouncer. Later, Lazy Bill Lucas traveled to Minneapolis to play at the club with George "Mojo" Buford. Lazy Bill liked Minneapolis, and stayed.

The club, unfortunately, changed hands. Frank Siefert, a local television personality, bought the Key Club in the 1950s, and decided to "improve" its entertainment calendar. Among his innovations were the Lennon Sisters.

Frank's idea panned out poorly; the black community boycotted these absurd performances, and Frank was eventually compelled to let the club manage itself. The club survived for several years as a font of blues musicology, until it was eaten by land acquisition for the Interstate Highway.

An era of oppression in moderation, the 50's saw one black patrolman on Cedar Avenue, a beat cop known as Coffee. He was a large, gentle man with a deeply rooted sense of justice, who was well liked by members of both communities. One neighborhood story recalls an argument between Coffee and a local white man. The policeman had been unfair to the white, and when they met in the Blue Goose, a restaurant on Cedar and Riverside, Coffee stood stoically as the shorter man hurled punches at him.

Coffee was later fired from the force, when his wife committed suicide using his police revolver; the patrolman had not been authorized to keep the gun in his possession when off duty.

Community relations were sometimes violently strained. Blacks were barred from the white dances at Dania and the Pill House. In 1963 and 1964 there were large demonstrations at the latter, and in 1965, the Pill House was required to open its doors to black patrons.

The Scandinavians, themselves long repressed, bore an ingrained resentment toward their black neighbors, who were kept at an economic level below them. It has not been an uncommon phenomena of social evolution in this mottled society. As various communities begin to obtain the sort of social self-esteem they have sought since immigration, they look toward their roots of hardship, displaced among some other group, with avoidance and distaste.

When new, poor students began to populate the Scandinavian neighborhoods, with arcane long hair and living in voluntary poverty, a breach point had been reached.

Efforts were made to merge the two communities. The Triangle Bar invited Maury Bernstein, an accordionist whose music bridged the gap between leftist students and Scandinavians, to play there, hoping to woo both cultures.

The Triangle was already a place of mixed interests, regularly visited by Greeks and Ukranians from North Minneapolis who held impromptu circle dances on the second-story dance floor. Maury played on a small elevated stage at one end of the floor, surrounded by wrought-iron fence, his music amplified through the pained capacitors of the juke box. Maury opened the door for the folk-music culture of the new residents. John Koerner and Dave Ray began to appear at the Triangle.

Soon a coffee house opened up in the triangular building bordered by Riverside and Sixth Street: the Cafe Extempore. The "Extemp" was housed in a collection of old

West Bank to 24

. West Bank from 23

office spaces, each of which quickly established itself as the home of one or another activity. A small stage was set up for live music, and across the hall, discussion rooms were filled with long, smoky discussions of the upcoming death of capitalist racist society. Chess claimed yet another room, and a lounge filled with pamphlets and newspapers of the new left became a dropspot for those who were waiting for "something to turn up."

Across the street, the Fairview Hospital fountain bore occasional waders, and often bubbled with spare laundry detergent carried from the landromat beneath the Extemp.

More students arrived as residents. They were moved selectively into houses being acquired by Heller-Segal. Some of these early tenants remember being moved progressively through the community, usually with no explanation, being placed in neighborhoods where most of their neighbors were Scandinavians.

The culture followed them. The Scholar moved to the West Bank after a fire in its facilities in Dinkytown in 1966. The Scholar was the oldest among student coffee houses, and had been the stage for many early folk performers, among them Mark Naftalin, Bob Zimmerman "Dylan" and Koerner, Ray and Tony Glover.

When Phil Richter acquired Dania Hall, the dance floor was re-opened, but the amplified droning that issued through its walls was not Whoopee John Wilfart. It was rock'n'roll.

The great iron gates opened on Friday and Saturday nights to the performances of innumerable local musical groups, among them The Litter, Jokers Wild, T.C. Atlantic, and The Paisleys. They played on the Avenue's most notorious stage in front of a fluttering wall of sewn-together bedsheets on which psychedelic electricians sprayed their jealously cultivated light shows.

The Aquarian Age had arrived at Snus Boulevard. More of the young moved in, and more of the old Scandinavians moved out.

The inevitable clash of the two cultures fomented a lush market for real estate. It would be unfair to suggest that Heller-Segal intended their gratuitous rent levels as an invitation to block-busting realty. But one homeowner, Marge Shafsky, remembers, "They tried to scare me,—(Heller-Segal's representative said) 'What are you going to do when all those hippies come in here and break in and rob you?'

"I said, 'I ain't got nothin' to rob. My husband is sick and I've got to spend all my money.'

"Heller and Segal: yes, they said 'The hippies are going to be around here. They're going to bomb your house—they're going to throw an automatic bomb in your house.'

"I said, 'The hippies wouldn't do a thing like that. I trust them hippies.'

"You know what they said to me? They said, 'There are ones that are dangerous. They're full of dope; they don't know what they're doing. They could come and wreck your property.'

"I said 'I trust them in my property.' I've had a lot of hippies in my house already."

Heller-Segal say that Mrs. Shafsky has erred in her recollections.

In acquiring land, Heller-Segal had retained the services of more than a dozen small real estate firms, each working without knowledge of the others. Acting as Heller-Segal's agents, these representatives visited homes and attended public land auctions, where they sometimes bid competitively against one another.

By 1967, Heller-Segal had gained a foothold in most of the blocks in the West Bank area, and owned 80 percent of a nine-block area east of Cedar Avenue. On November 19, 1967, they publicly announced their holdings, financed by the Northwestern Life Insurance Company and the General Mortgage Investment Corporation to the combined extent of $2.9 million. At that time, they announced their continued land acquisition intentions.

At about this time the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority (MHRA) was considering an Urban Renewal Plan for the West Bank. The plan encompassed all lands within the perimeter of the freeways then under construction. In June, 1968, they approved a broad plan ("Workable Program") for renewal, and in September the City Council held public hearings. Despite strong and sustained popular disagreement, the renewal plan was passed.

In the same year, Heller-Segal gained possession of Dania Hall. The weekend concerts were stopped, and a Montessori school on the second floor was removed. Gloria Segal made a number of public statements about restoring the Avenue's landmark. The stairway to the basement dining hall was filled in and cemented. The hall's great iron gate and its attendant torches were removed, and the doorway to Dania and an adjacent window were covered with cinder block.

Heller-Segal concluded dealings with the Harris Brothers, the only other significant land holder south of Washington Avenue, acquiring most of the West Bank lands west of Cedar, and plans for the demolition of the neighborhood and the erection of the first phase of urban renewal were commenced.

The Heritage of Concrete

"We became involved in the community. We bought houses with people in them."

—Gloria Segal

The residents of the West Bank were making developments of their own. In January of 1970, the Cedar-Riverside Community Union was formed as a coalition of old and new residents and businessmen interested in self-determination and neighborhood control. A few months after its inception, the Union instituted an outpatient therapeutic center on the corner of 20th Street and Riverside, called the Cedar-Riverside People's Center.

The Union mounted a campaign for the election of a Project Area Committee (PAC) for the urban renewal area.

Other groups worked directly in their neighborhoods, turning every available vacant lot along Cedar Avenue into miniature parks.

By 1970, the Extemp had moved through a succession of homes. The coffee house and the adjacent offices of the Yo Emergency Service (YES) were evacuat from quarters on the 600 block of Cedar b midwinter fire in 1969 that left the buildi an ice-encursted skeleton. In its plac Extemp Park was landscaped and plante On the 500 block of Cedar, another sma park was equipped with playgroun facilities for neighborhood children. Th park stood next to the Electric Fetus, a record store started in 1967 by Dan Foley, a resident of nearby Seward West. Foley moved and enlarged his store from its location at 521 Cedar (the former site of the People's Club) to a three-room storefront across the street. The old location was filled immediately by The Whale, a leather-working shop run by a sincere and tireless craftsman named Jonah. The Whale began circulating petitions for better electrical service in the Heller-Segal owned building, so that shoe repair equipment could be installed.

A collective of residents living next to the Heller-Segal rental offices on Fifth Street near 20th Avenue began an elaborate series of paintings on the darkened walls of area buildings. The crew was organized by Blair and Robbie Meyers, and began on their home with a replica of the Beatles' Yellow Submarine. Other images followed. Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band appeared appropriately on the wall of the new Fetus, facing the Green. For Palmer's Bar, a kaleidoscopic wineglass; for the 400 Bar, at 400 Cedar Avenue, a ship sailing on placed beer. A huge figure appeared on the side of Edna's Park amid the brown stems of autumn foliage, frozen in paint while blowing his nose.

Heller-Segal supplied paint for the collective's labors and, a few months after the paintings were completed, they supplied the Yellow Submarine House with an eviction notice. The house was demolished in favor of a parking lot for Heller-Segal personnel. Blair and Robbie moved out of the neighborhood, leaving their work behind, gratis.

The new residents began to experiment with the philosophy of store ownership. In the spring of 1971, The North Country Co-op opened its doors at 22nd and Riverside. The co-op had grown from an earlier "People's

Student Minnesota Federation of Teachers
ATTENTION ALL PROSPECTIVE STUDENT TEACHERS
Join the
STUDENT MFT
adidas

Pantry," which began in one resident's pantry and gradually moved into storefront facilities as its notoriety and the variety of its foods increased.

While the student, young population had been attempting to secure its place as a member of the West Bank community, the developers had been solidifying their hold as owners. Throughout the sixties they acquired plot and parcel throughout the area. One parcel included the gasoline station and two houses of Richard Medvec. Medvec was reluctant to sell to the developers; he had learned well from his grandfather on the flats that it was no good to live on the land, a man had to hold title to the land that he lived on. Nonetheless, after repeated visits by agents of Heller-Segal, Richard became uncertain of the eminence of his ownership.

During the winter of '67 he paid a visit to alderman Jens Christiansen. Medvec said Christiansen told him to sell to Heller-Segal or his property probably would be condemned.

Medvec sold.

The young people, too, created alien, intolerable conditions for some of the older residents. During the summer, large numbers of them gathered around Richter's Drugs in Dania Hall, although the dances had long ceased. They loitered, used drugs, sold drugs, and gunned the engines of their motorcycles, which were at times parked in gleaming rows along Fifth Street. Rumors circulated that these "hippies" had tried to trip some of the older women as they were passing Richter's on their way to Mr. Elasky's grocery. Some of the residents were afraid of these young people. Some just didn't like the noise and the crowds.

The number of older residents continued to dwindle in the 1970s, to about 25 percent of the population in 1973. The number of young people continued to increase.

A few of the older residents who sold their houses moved into the Cedar High elderly housing complex which had been erected near the site of the old Holtzerman House between Sixth and Seventh Streets.

The high rise buildings had been erected in the late 60s, and efforts were made by the staff and housing authority to locate Minneapolis residents there who had grown up in the community.

Across the street from this complex of buildings, Stage I of the Heller-Segal urban renewal plan was begun. Demolition of the old neighborhood, including the Pill House, was carried out in the fall of 1970. In November, the Department of Housing and Urban Development rejected Minneapolis' Workable Program for Urban renewal. The document was returned, in part for lack of citizen participation in the project. HUD required the Minnesota Authority to recognize PAC before federal funds would be committed to the program. The first PAC was not formed, however, until 1971; the Authority had not set guidelines for its makeup.

When the guidelines were established, in the summer of 1971, the resultant composition of this organ of citizen participation was unique in the nation. Just less than half of the voting seats were elected from among the residents. The rest were disbursed among the area's six recognized developers, and a variety of business and religious organizations. There are no other developers seated on any of the nation's PAC groups.

In April of 1971, the White House Council on Environmental Quality issued regulations requiring Environmental Impact Statements to be filed on a diverse number of federal projects. Among these projects were re-development work being undertaken with federal funds. PAC groups across the country were to contribute to such statements, which would be filed by HUD with the Council.

The PAC election took place in August, and shortly thereafter an Environmental Impact statement was sent to HUD. The statement, however, had been prepared in June, drafted by Heller-Segal. The statement was approved on August 30, and $28 million in federally guaranteed mortgages moved into the hands of that developer.

It was not until the following winter that PAC members learned that a statement had been filed. A large number of the elected members lobbied for suit to be brought against HUD for its filing of an improper statement. The motion for suit was defeated by a small margin; just over half of the delegates voted against the action.

In addition to the $28 million mortgage issued by HUD with the passage of the Impact Statement, the developers have found other federal revenue with which to round out plans for the development.

HUD had reserved $600 thousand in its Legacy of Parks program for the State of Minnesota. In 1972, the City of Minneapolis obtained the entire amount for its use, and conferred it upon Cedar Square West. It was these federal funds, which had been set aside to establish small parks in high-density, low-income areas of U.S. cities, which subsidized the buildings of Heller Segal's "Plaza-in-the-Sky," a poured concrete roof for the stage I parking ramp. The developers announced their intention, when the concrete park was completed, to bestow it upon the city as a public park.

The city would then become responsible for its upkeep.

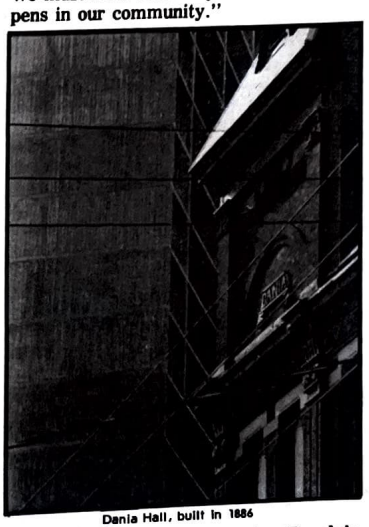
The attendance at PAC meetings began to drop at this time. For many residents, the battle had been lost. By spring of 1972, the structures of Stage One were already towering on the sunset end of the West Bank.

The Electric Fetus was evicted from its Cedar Avenue store, and moved out of the area. Before they left, the store's workers held a "Naked Sale," giving away records to anyone encountered naked in the store. Heller-Segal, on the basis of the sale, refused to relocate them in the neighborhood.

The storefront was remodeled as an Information Center, proselytizing for Stage I rental units.

On May 9, 1972, HUD Secretary George Romney was invited to attend the dedication ceremonies of Cedar Square West.

Residents began circulating pamphlets at 10:00 a.m. They read, "Secretary Romney is coming to dedicate Cedar Riverside Stage One. He is not meeting with the people but only with the private investors. We must make ourselves heard. We must have more say about what happens in our community."



Dania Hall, built in 1886

A meeting was held at the People's Center, and began heading for the construction site when 500 students left an antiwar rally at the University to join the protest against the construction.

As the two groups together approached the gate to the fenced project, it was closed and sealed by Minneapolis police.

The crowd, denied access to the building, stood outside in anger, hurling insults, rocks and eggs at the police. Several attempts were made to break through the chain-link fence, but were repelled.

Ray Herje, then Heller-Segal director of resident relations, told the crowd that the dedication was cancelled, and that Romney would not appear. Herje told a reporter that relations between residents and Heller-Segal had always been good, and that he didn't understand why the demonstration had taken place.

The crowd moved into the streets, followed by police. The two groups moved throughout the neighborhood of Cedar and Riverside for several hours, blocking traffic and doing violence to one another.

Seventeen people were arrested, among them Mary Fraser, daughter of Fifth Congressional District representative Donald Fraser, for breach of peace and simple assault. After a final confrontation on the lawn of the People's Center, the crowd and police dispersed, respectively, to their homes and squad cars.

Later that afternoon, a quiet dedication ceremony was held with Secretary Romney in attendance.

The following spring, Heller-Segal received $175,000 to build an aerial walkway over Cedar Avenue, and to renovate the sidewalks along the Avenue south of the Washington Avenue exit of Interstate 35W.

The money came from the Minnesota Authority's Neighborhood Development Plan, and was removed from a general city fund which would otherwise have gone to other NDP projects, largest among them the rehabilitation of ghetto homes in Minneapolis' Willard-Homewood district, and for Model City rehabilitation. The Walkway will eventually link Stage One with the rest of the project.

It extends toward Dania Hall from the "Plaza-in-the-Sky," lighting along Fifth Street at the edge of the Five Corners Bar.

The Bar's owners, Eddie Paulsen, has lodged suit against Heller-Segal, contending that the land on which the walkway rests, on which Paulsen pays property tax, is his own.

"I'm a little provoked," he said. "I'm protesting this walkway because this is not a federal project, it is a private development—and this walkway is for the benefit of the developers.

"We always have got along. I always have been for this redevelopment, but I don't like—well, lets use the baseball term—it looks like the squeeze play is on. In other words it looks like he's" (Keith Heller) "trying to squeeze me out, which I resent.... You know my own tax money is driving me out of business."

Authors' Note

The West Bank History Collective is deeply indebted to Maury Bernstein, the Community Union, the Cafe Extempore, The New Riverside Cafe, Steven Parliament, the Rev. William Teska and Marvin Farmer, for their help and advice on the Curling Waters. Without them there would be no history.

And we are indebted to Marge Shafsky, Mr. Ostmund, the Thorneys and Eddie Paulsen for remaining in the community and resisting its inevitable decay. Without such people, there would be no future.

We hope for some indulgence of our occassional lapses in objectivity. It is, at times, difficult to remain both objective and accurate. The present history is, to the best of our knowledge, accurate in full.

SPAGHETTI FEED

CHI ALPHA, The Campus Charismatic